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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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## Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-93-152* *10 August 1993*

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## CSCE Talks on Nagorno-Karabakh Begin in Rome

*NC0908144093 Baku TURAN in English 1101 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, August 9 (TURAN)—The consultations of the CSCE Minsk group on Nagorno-Karabakh with the representatives of the Azerbaijan and Armenia started in Rome today, Department of Information of the Azeri Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports.

During the consultations the parties will discuss the "schedule of urgent measures", that envisages the plan of the withdrawal of the Armenian Armed Forces from the occupied Azeri territories and creation of the necessary prerequisites for holding the Minsk conference.

The Minsk group also presented a questions, dealing with the defining the zones of the conflict and concordance of the status of the mixed coordination committee.

The Azerbaijan Republic will be presented at the conference by the president's advisor on foreign political matters Vafa Gulizade, the deputy chief of the department of the international organizations Vagif Sadikhov, the head of the analytical department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Tofik Zulfugarov and the head of the Azeri community of Nagorno-Karabakh Nizami Bakhmanov.

[Yerevan SNARK in English at 1115 GMT on 9 August transmits the following report on the CSCE talks in Rome: "Today the Armenian and Azerbaijani delegations are starting consultations with the representatives of Russia, Turkey, the USA, Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Belarus, Sweden, France, and Italy. The delegations are starting in Rome. Zhirair Libartyan, first deputy of the Armenian foreign minister, Armen Ayvasyan, counsellor of the Armenian foreign minister, Ruben Avsharyan, third secretary of military and political department of the Armenian Foreign Ministry. The consultations will last two days. Press center of the Armenian Foreign Ministry told SNARK that there are three questions on the agenda—the discussion of the project and the schedule of the extraordinary measures suggested by the Minsk group of the CSCE, the discussion of two documents within the schedule—determination of the conflict zone, concordance of the status of the commission."]

## U.S. Offers To Mediate in USSR Disputes Viewed

*LD0908184393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] According to THE WASHINGTON POST the administration in Washington has decided to offer diplomatic assistance in settling regional conflicts in the former Soviet Union. Our commentary has been prepared by Vladislav Kozyakov.

The idea of mediating or diplomatically arbitrating with the consent of the conflicting parties can only be welcomed, of course. Some of the comments of American officials, however, are disturbing. The motives, they feel, which should prompt the United States to mediate reflect a biased attitude towards Russia. There are conjectures that Russia might use armed conflicts as a pretext for aggressive acts beyond its own frontiers. There are assumptions that when Russia sends troops to various parts of the former Soviet Union it is trying to gain control of territory once in its possession.

What is more, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, even the White House directive says the United States will object to having power to maintain peace granted to the Commonwealth of Independent States founded by Russia and other former Soviet republics. This attitude has little basis in reality. Consider the situation in Tajikistan. The leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, meeting in Moscow, have just issued a declaration to the effect that they consider protecting their frontiers an area of common interest and of common cause.

The United States does have an opportunity to strengthen peace in Central Asia, a very good opportunity. It could use its influence with the Afghan mojahedin and encourage them to stop interfering in Tajikistan. After all, these Afghan extremists were the main recipients not so long ago of funds and weapons from the United States.

## International Antinuclear Conference Held in Murmansk

*LD0608204293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1954 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Murmansk August 6 TASS—It is not excluded radioactive waste will be buried on territory of Novaya Zemlya, the command of the Vaigach nuclear-powered ice-breaker told an international anti-nuclear conference with the theme "From Moratorium to Universal Ban on Nuclear Tests".

The ecologists visited the ice-breaker today, on the last day of the seven-day forum. "Nuclear waste dumping on Novaya Zemlya is a quite possible variant," said the command. However, specialists stressed the worked-out radioactive fuel of the ice-breaker does not pose threat to the ecological situation.

After the end of the conference, its participants left Murmansk for Moscow.

### Results of Moscow Summit on Tajikistan Viewed

*MK1008091693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Aug 93 p 1*

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under general headline: "The Results of Discussion of the Tajik Problem in Moscow are Not Unequivocal. Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, and Karimov Save the Ruble Space. Dushanbe is Ready to Fight the Opposition to the Last Russian Border Guard"]

[Text] The meeting among the leaders of Russia and countries of Central Asia has not been devoid of the weaknesses characteristic of CIS summits that are already well known to observers. Its results leave the impression of being rather rhetorical: On the one hand, the readiness to protect Tajik borders has been reaffirmed, but on the other, it is not explained how this protection will be ensured and whether the frontier troops will be reinforced. On the one hand, Tajik leaders are calling for a political dialogue with the opposition, but on the other, it is difficult to understand how the leaders of Russia and the countries of Central Asia are going to prevent Dushanbe's obvious intention to put an end to the opposition in Gorno-Badakhshan and only then enter into negotiations with it. On the one hand, appeals are being made for a sweeping return of all refugees, but on the other, it is not explained how their security will be ensured (and judging by reports from independent human rights organizations, at present it is not so easy for the refugees who have returned to live in their motherland).

In a word, there are many good intentions, but the leaders of the countries concerned are even further from any concrete results in resolving the conflict than before the Moscow meeting, but then the desire for a political settlement and a dialogue between the government and the opposition and even new free elections in Tajikistan have revealed a complete dissimilarity of interests among the parties. For Russia, for example, the dialogue in Tajikistan means tranquillity on the border and salvation of border guards' lives and therefore the impossibility of turning the "Tajik-Tajik" conflict into an Afghan-Russian and even into an internal Russian conflict. For Uzbekistan, as well as for other Central Asian states, the dialogue is a guarantee of nonproliferation of the conflict to other countries in the region. For the Tajik opposition, the talks are also a possibility if not of victory in parliamentary elections, then at least of legitimizing their activity: Therefore, on the eve of the Moscow meeting, representatives of a number of opposition movements spoke in favor of ending the civil war and beginning political consultations, but for the present Tajik leadership, controlled for the most part by members of the Kulyab clan, the negotiations mean a collapse, the necessity to give up power if not to the opposition, then at least to representatives of the Leninabad clan led by Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdulladzhanov. Therefore one does not need to be a visionary to suppose that after the meeting in Moscow, the "Tajik-Tajik" war will only intensify, and military initiatives will now be originating from Dushanbe. Gorno-Badakhshan corroborates this. To fight with the opposition to the last Russian border guard or the last Uzbek soldier—this is the sole possibility for Dushanbe to avoid talks. This scenario, however, would hardly suit Boris Yeltsin or Islam Karimov.

As for the "Commonwealth" questions, it was proposed, for instance, to "generalize" [obobshchestvit] the economic union declared by Russian, Ukraine, and Belarus. At present, there are two declarations on the creation of an economic union—and in each of them a Russian representative is involved. Should the 7 September CIS summit in Moscow see a harmonization of these two declarations, one big declaration would emerge—nothing else. The declaration by Viktor Chernomyrdin, Leonid Kuchma, and Vyacheslav Kebich has already caused serious doubts among those who knew how Russia has seriously restricted a "free trade" policy with the neighboring countries. But even if one supposes that Russia is interested in free trade with Ukraine or Kazakhstan, it would hardly want Ukraine or Kazakhstan to communicate freely between themselves via Russian territory. Of course, an economic union will be created, while the "ruble zone" has already been saved through the efforts of Yeltsin, Nazarbayev, and Karimov. Yet at his news conference prior to flying to Almaty, the president of Kazakhstan indicated that the introduction of national currencies is inevitable: Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan would hardly agree to participate in such a "ruble zone" where they would totally depend upon the Russian Central Bank, which is unexpectedly becoming for these countries something almost like the Work Bank or the IMF.

Yet, however illusory the efforts by the Moscow meeting participants, they can probably go away satisfied: The much desired accord has been reached and proclaimed.

### Chernomyrdin, Kyrgyz Leaders Meet at Moscow Summit

#### Discuss Ties, Union at News Conference

*LD0908144493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1211 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[News conference by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev, and Kyrgyzstan Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev with unidentified correspondents after talks in Moscow on 9 August—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified speaker] We discussed creating joint enterprises in our Kyrgyz Republic and maintaining the operations of enterprises, especially in the military-industrial complex and in the sphere of the development of rare minerals and nonferrous metals. Specifically, we discussed how to maintain operations at a normal level, as both Russia and the Kyrgyz Republic

have great need for their output. In addition, they represent tens and hundreds of thousands of jobs to us, occupied mainly by our highly qualified Kyrgyz Slavs, mostly Russians.

We discussed an interesting option here and obtained Viktor Stepanovich's support for it. It is that we should jointly help Tajikistan, where a very difficult situation is developing, especially in the Pamirs, in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. There is only one strategic road which is open all year round and which ensures essential supplies for Russia's border troops on the Tajik-Afghan border and the Kyrgyz-Chinese border; around 2,000 km of border are served by this route, and there are bases in Osh. I would like to say that we are satisfied that we found mutual understanding and support from the Russian Government on all questions.

[Correspondent] Viktor Stepanovich, Askar Akayevich: What do you think about yesterday's summing up speech by President Nazarbayev and his negative reaction to the collapse of the Union and his proposal to set up an economic union between countries which may be able to do this?

[Chernomyrdin] There will be a session of leaders of all CIS states—and all those from other states who express a desire to do so—on 7 September in Moscow which will discuss the decisions we adopted, the Minsk decisions on setting up an economic union. This question is constantly being raised now and I agree with Nursultan Abisevich Nazarbayev when he said we had unfortunately been talking for a long time about creating such an economic union but had not taken many real steps. You know that a declaration was signed by three states—Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus—and that Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan have now signed a similar declaration.

Essentially things are moving toward developing what we need: an economic union. Those who do not like the word union can use a different term, but in principle we need a union on an economic basis. Incidentally, this is just what we have been discussing. It is up to us, state and government leaders, to tackle this question quickly, to not slow things down. This makes everything so difficult; we feel this ourselves, and it is felt in all states, so it simply needs to be solved.

I think that on 7 September, when all the heads of state will be gathered, we have to make progress in this part.

## Chernomyrdin on Upcoming Meeting

*LD0908174993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By V. Budnikov, including recorded remarks by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin held talks with a delegation of Kyrgyzstan led by President Askar Akayev. The talks that were started at a meeting of Boris Yeltsin and the heads of Central Asian states, were continued. The sides focussed on the development of economic cooperation. According to Viktor Chernomyrdin, at present the issue of setting up an economic alliance of the CIS states is, so to speak, in the air.

[Chernomyrdin] These issues need to be tackled more promptly. There is no time to be lost. I think that on 7 September, when all the heads of state gather, I think that we will make good headway in this sphere.

[Akayev] From the very beginning the Kyrgyz Republic was a firm supporter of setting up a close economic alliance. We—Kyrgyzstan—are ready to delegate relevant powers...

[Budnikov] According to the Russian prime minister, the establishment of an interbank alliance will be the first stage in implementing these plans.

## Communist Parties Issue Statement at Orel Meeting

*PM1008102793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 2*

["Slightly Abridged" version of "Joint Statement by Communist Parties of Armenia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine, and Crimea": "Unity and Solidarity"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of communist parties formed on the basis of CPSU members was held 5 August in the city of Orel. Taking part from the Communist Party of Armenia were Comrades S.G. Badalin and V.S. Darbinyan, from the Communist Party of Lithuania Comrades M.M. Burokyavichyus, S.G. Baytukaytis, and Yu. Yu. Yermalavichyus, from the Russian Federation Communist Party Comrades G.A. Zyuganov, V.A. Kuptsov, and V.I. Zorkaltsev, from the Communist Party of Ukraine Comrade P.N. Simonenko, and from the Communist Party of Crimea L.I. Grach and V.M. Lobov.

At the meeting the sides informed each other of their parties' activity and exchanged opinions on the development and consolidation of interparty ties, the progress of economic transformations, and the forms and depth of the political struggle for working people's rights.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Armenia analyzed in detail the national problems of the communist party's activity under present conditions and paths for the establishment of the party and its organizational consolidation.

The Lithuanian comrades described the hard political struggle under the conditions of the ban on the communist party and the rampaging of anticommunist propaganda and repressions.

The Russian Federation Communist Party delegation reported problems of the communist movement in

Russia, collaboration between the communist parties, entry to the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU, and its work to consolidate Communists. It touched on questions of the Russian Federation Communist Party's participation in the international communist and workers movement and the Russian Communists' position in the Russian political spectrum.

The Ukrainian delegation provided information on the results of the restoration congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the problems of the Communists' activity in the workers movement and the establishment of the party's regional organizations, and the consolidation of the party's ties with the labor collectives. There was a discussion of problems connected with the aggravation of the situation in Crimea and around the Black Sea Fleet, which has developed through the fault of the two presidents.

The representatives of the communist parties of Armenia, Russia, Ukraine, and Crimea voiced the desire for union of the communist parties based on the CPSU membership base, advocate the restoration of the union state as an essential condition for fulfilling the will of Soviet people expressed at the 17 March 1991 referendum, and believe the Belovezhskaya Forest plot to be an act of legal anarchy and a coup d'etat. The sides advocate an active struggle to restore a society based on socialist principles.

Supporting the idea of a 29th CPSU Congress aimed at creating a Union of communist parties, the participants in the meeting urge all parties created on the CPSU's membership base to ensure organized unity and create a powerful bloc of communist, socialist, and workers parties.

The sides advocate preserving citizens' rights and freedoms guaranteed by the USSR Constitution.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 10 Aug

*LD1008053393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0515 GMT 10 Aug 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 10 TASS—Today's issue of the newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries several items devoted to the meeting of Central Asian and Russian heads of state, which took place here last weekend. They are captioned: "The Results of the Discussion of the Tajik Problem in Moscow are Ambiguous". The newspaper recalls that four documents were signed during the meeting, including three devoted to the situation in Tajikistan and one—to the CIS heads of state conference which will be called in September to discuss the formation of an economic union.

The newspaper's analyst Vitaliy Portnikov believes that the meeting "failed to avoid some shortcomings typical of conferences of CIS leaders, previously noticed by analysts on several occasions. Its results smack of declarativeness: On the one hand, the meeting participants express their readiness to defend the borders of Tajikistan, and, on the other, do not explain how this is to be done.

"On the one hand, they urge the leaders of Tajikistan to start a political dialogue with the opposition, while, on the other, fail to make it clear how the leaders of Russia and the countries of Central Asia plan to prevent Dushanbe's obvious eagerness to quickly wipe out the opposition in highland Badakhshan".

Nevertheless, journalist Igor Rotar writes in the same newspaper that the meeting should not be regarded as futile. "The summit proved to be quite fruitful for one of the meeting participants, namely Russia. Acting as a peacemaker in various hot spots of the former USSR, Moscow is at the same time trying to increase its influence in these regions," he claims.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA also comments on the Moscow summit. It notes that the "conflict in Tajikistan is not merely a clash between ideologies and clans, but also an ethnic clash between the Turkic and Iranian worlds".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports on the work of a conference devoted to the social protection of servicemen and members of their families, which opened in the building of the Russian parliament on Monday. "Unfortunately, the level of representation is not fully in keeping with the importance of the problems on the agenda," the newspaper notes. "Speaker of the Russian Supreme Soviet, who was expected to address the meeting, failed to turn up for some unknown reason. It will be very unfortunate if this important discussion of burning problems confronting the Armed Forces turns into one more sterile debate," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

The press continues to spotlight the situation in the area of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and in other hot spots of the former Union. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports that 35-40 per cent of dwellings and administrative buildings have been destroyed in Sukhumi, the capital of Abkhazia.

A correspondent of the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports that the Karabakh-Armenian Self-Defence Forces have captured the village of Karamedly, located two kilometres away from the district centre of Fizuli. Fighting continues in the western suburbs of the town, the correspondent writes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Petr Luchinskiy, speaker of the Moldovan parliament. Asked about the probability of Moldova's unification with Romania, he said that today "the unification thesis is being exploited by some people to increase confrontation and discredit our state. It is much too early to speak about any real merger".

The newspaper PRAVDA publishes an interview with ex-Prime Minister of Georgia Tengiz Sigua, who resigned a few day ago. Explaining his view on the country's future, Sigua noted that "a federal system is out of the question. Georgia is not big enough to be broken up again into tribes and principalities".

## Efforts To Settle Tajik-Afghan Problem Viewed

*PM0908121593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 7*

[Pavel Vasilyev report: "'A Military Rebuff—Not Our Choice...'—This Is How Russia's Special Representative Anatoliy Adamishin Described the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's Approach to the Settlement of the Conflict in Tajikistan"]

[Text] The tour of Central Asian capitals by the Russian president's special representative, Russian Federation First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, the visit to Kabul and Tehran by Foreign Intelligence Service Director Yevgeniy Primakov, and talks conducted in Islamabad by Russia's new envoy Aleksandr Alekseyev are all links in the same chain. They testify to Russia's comprehensive approach to unraveling the taut knot which has tightened around the Tajik-Afghan border. The effectiveness of these efforts may become more visible later, but initial conclusions on the Russian diplomatic "offensive" will be drawn as early as tomorrow, when Boris Yeltsin meets with leaders of the young Central Asian states in Moscow.

Moscow's priorities here are well known. Our aim is to prevent a fresh upsurge in the civil war in Tajikistan, to guarantee the safety of this country's multiethnic population, to guide it toward a path of democratization and national reconciliation, and to shield the CIS region from the explosion of violence and extremism which has enveloped the republic. At the same time, in the words of Anatoliy Adamishin, "a military rebuff is not our choice..."

Of course, Moscow does not intend to defend the interests of Central Asian countries single-handedly. Achieving this aim requires the coordination of all international efforts. And above all, the activation of peacekeeping moves by Dushanbe itself. "Russia will not undertake to compensate with the blood of our own soldiers the lack of political will to bring about reconciliation in Tajikistan, as was the case at one time in Afghanistan," Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stressed a few days ago. "The Afghan experience demonstrates: Hopes that peace and accord will dawn almost automatically if the Russians leave are completely misguided."

The trip by the Russian president's special representative to Central Asia vindicated Moscow's hopes: The leaders of countries contiguous with Tajikistan share the Russian leadership's concern. Most countries are inclined toward dowsing the "military flames" using every available means, and they are even prepared to participate in the action—only Ashgabat is wary. Adhering firmly to the principle of "positive neutrality and nonintervention in other states' domestic affairs," Turkmenistan does not intend to take any part in the conflict "other than via the political settlement methods to which it is prepared to adhere." The explanation is as follows: Turkmenistan, unlike its neighbors, did not sign the Treaty on Collective Security concluded last year by six CIS countries. "This fact in particular may be the motivation behind President Saparmurad Niyazov's possible refusal to participate in the upcoming Moscow summit. But the meeting in Ashgabat did, nevertheless, produce a positive result: The Turkmen leader confirmed that his country is loyally and consistently maintaining a policy of bilateral military cooperation with Russia.

Likewise, the foreign meetings held by Yevgeniy Primakov and Aleksandr Alekseyev were also useful. In all three capitals, Moscow's efforts to regulate the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border were met with understanding. Moreover, Kabul revealed its own initiative—it proposed to hold a meeting on these problems with representatives of Tajikistan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Afghanistan in order to regulate the situation and resolve the refugee problem. The attention of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was drawn to this action.

Nevertheless, the decisive word lies with the leaders of Tajikistan itself. After all, a legitimate government formed via constitutional means operates in that country today, and it is urged to safeguard the unity and stability of its country.

Judging by recent reports, official Dushanbe understands this responsibility. This is indicated by its agreement in principle to conduct dialogue with the internal and external opposition with greater flexibility; renunciation of the notion of the unacceptability of compromises; and the amnesty edict adopted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Nevertheless, for the time being preference is being accorded exclusively to military methods of settling relations. An operation by government troops against the so-called self-defense forces of Gorno-Badakhshan is continuing, people are dying every day, and tens of thousands of peaceful civilians are still far from home. Not only does this fail to further stability, it also increases the threat to the population, and endangers the lives of hundreds of thousands of nonindigenous inhabitants.

In brief, the participants in tomorrow's summit face a difficult task. Only time will tell if they will succeed in solving it.

## Adamishin Says Drug Trafficking Behind Problem

*LD0908182793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin believes that the interests of drug trafficking operators are at the base of if not of all, then of most of the events in Tajikistan. Tajikistan is almost the main route by which drugs reach Western Europe and the United States, INTERFAX cites the diplomat. That is also one of the reasons why Russia cannot leave Tajikistan. The other reason is concern about the fate of the Russian-speaking population. Besides that, Russia also

has economic interests in the region which it has no intention of renouncing, stressed the diplomat.

### Foreign Ministry Previews Tajik-Afghan Talks

*LD1008091893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting between the heads of the diplomatic departments of Tajikistan and Afghanistan will be held today in Dushanbe. The foreign ministers will discuss problems that have arisen in connection with the recent incident on the border between the two countries. Russia expects that the coming talks will be a substantial step toward improving relations between Dushanbe and Kabul, and that this in turn will have a positive influence on the settlement of the crisis in the area of the Tajik-Afghan border, said an official representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

### Primakov Terms Visit to Iran, Kabul 'Satisfactory'

*PM0908174793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 93 Second Edition p 1*

[Report by Nikolay Paklin: "Russian Intelligence and Diplomacy Facilitate Settlement of Conflict on Tajik-Afghan Border"]

[Text] On Monday [2 August] the director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, Yevgeniy Primakov, returned to Moscow from a trip to Iran and Afghanistan. He had been to the capital cities of these states in the capacity of the Russian president's special representative.

The aim of the visit by Russia's "chief intelligence officer," his press service said, was to hold talks on the conflict on the Tajik-Afghan border. In Tehran he met the Iranian foreign minister. And in Kabul, according to information from a trustworthy source, his interlocutors, in addition to Afghan officials, were mojahedin field commanders. (There are grounds to suggest that the Kabul government controls by no means all the mojahedin military formations which are trying to fight their way across the Afghan-Tajik border together with Tajik opposition detachments operating from Afghan territory.) "The overall results of the talks were satisfactory," Yevgeniy Primakov, who headed off to see President B.N. Yeltsin directly following his return to Moscow, briefly summed up the result of his delicate mission.

REUTER, citing a statement by the Afghan Government's official spokesman, reports that at talks with Afghan President Rabbani Primakov concurred with the Afghan side's desire to halt the Russian Army's shelling of Afghan territory, as a result of which, according to Kabul's statistics, more than 300 people have been killed or wounded since mid-July.

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also increasing its diplomatic efforts to resolve the problems. A.Yu. Alekseyev, the new Russian ambassador in Afghanistan, who prior to this headed the ministry's South Asia Administration, has received the status of the Russian foreign minister's special representative. Scarcely had he taken up his new post than he entered into talks with his Pakistani colleagues, right after getting off the aircraft, as it were. According to reports from Islamabad, he expressed agreement that the Tajik Government should enter into talks with the Afghan-based opposition.

Let me recall that for many years Iran and Pakistan supplied all manner of aid to the Afghan mojahedin fighting the Kabul procommunist regime and the Soviet troops who were deployed in the conflict.

### 'No Exact Date' Set for Yeltsin-Kravchuk Meeting

*LD0908091493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0919 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow August 9 ITAR-TASS—No exact date has yet been set for a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, ITAR-TASS was told at the Russian president's press office on Monday [9 August].

According to the same source, it is not ruled out that the meeting would be held in September.

### Adamishin Calls For 'Urgent' Talks With Kiev

*LD0908172993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1525 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug—"We should start urgent talks with Kiev," Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin said today in an exclusive interview to ITAR-TASS. He called "the issue of nuclear weapons, and Sevastopol," along with a number of others, one of the most complex tangles of problems that needs an urgent solution. On the subject of the change of government in Japan, the senior official said "this would have little influence on the foreign policy of the country of the rising sun."

### Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Hold Talks on Military Cooperation

*MK0708080693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 1*

["V.K." report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Yeltsin and Nazarbayev in Zavidovo"]

[Text] Yesterday, the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan secluded themselves in the countryside to finally sort out their countries' relations concerning military cooperation. An agreement on the subject has long been prepared, but some of Kazakhstan's approaches do not satisfy Russia. Now that Yeltsin needs Nazarbayev's support on the Tajik-Afghan border, however, he may be

more flexible with regard to Almaty's demands for the utilization of Baykonur, the testing grounds, and nuclear equipment.... Moreover, Nazarbayev hopes that Kazakhstan and Russia stand to gain from setting up a joint military-political committee made up of the two countries' presidents and defense and foreign affairs ministers.

### CIA Director in Moscow; Intelligence Cooperation Viewed

*PM0908195793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 93 First Edition p 3*

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "CIA Director Reciprocates: He Has Arrived in Moscow on a Visit"]

[Text] CIA Director James Woolsey has arrived in Russia on a visit whose duration and agenda are not being discussed by any officials—U.S. or Russian.

Both the press department of the Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] and the U.S. Embassy in Moscow draw special attention to the fact that Woolsey's visit is a return visit: Just a couple of months ago FIS Director Yevgeniy Primakov himself visited the United States—which was reported in the press at the time in just two or three lines and naturally did not include any information at all either about the very intensive and, according to certain data, productive talks at CIA headquarters in Langley near Washington or about the meetings of the two intelligence services' leaders and their high-ranking employees in an informal situation in the lap of nature.

In my view, the fact that Woolsey has come to Moscow just after meeting with Primakov in Washington is very important: It demonstrates, in particular, that very concrete cooperation really is taking shape between the intelligence services of Russia and the United States—cooperation that is active enough to require the partial involvement of the top intelligence leaders for coordination and amplification.

It is no secret that the CIA and the FIS are working on projects designed to improve the effectiveness of the fight against terrorism, to toughen the nuclear nonproliferation control regime, and to curb the activities of the international drugs mafia. It would, however, be naive to believe that this, in fact, is the whole extent of the cooperation between the two special services.

It would be strange, for example, if the question of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border were not discussed in detail in the talks between Woolsey and Primakov: After all, the United States itself openly admits that the CIA is to a considerable extent to blame for the exacerbated situation in that region, since during the Afghan war years it had efficiently supplied the rebels with the most sophisticated arms, which are now being used on the border.

Woolsey would undoubtedly like to obtain detailed information about Primakov's recent tour of that region, which the United States still includes in the sphere of its own strategic interests.

Of course, considerable attention will be devoted to the nuclear situation in the former Soviet Union: The Clinton administration would like—through the CIA director—to familiarize itself with the assessments and forecasts of Russian intelligence in this regard.

Woolsey's visit also presupposes an extensive social [svetskiy] program involving, naturally, the forces of the CIA residency in Russia. It is already a commonplace that the CIA's resident is officially represented at the FIS, and the FIS's resident in Washington at the CIA.

It is said that the social program began in St. Petersburg, where, according to certain signs, Woolsey called before setting out for Moscow: A U.S. Government aircraft from among those that are used only to transport very high-ranking figures was noticed at one of St. Petersburg's airports. According to U.S. journalists' information, there is no one in Russia at present apart from Woolsey.

Unless he is on a very secret visit, even more secret than that of the director of U.S. Central Intelligence.

### Anniversary of Limited Test Ban Treaty Noted

*PM0908140393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Date": "No Nuclear Explosions Have Thundered in the Atmosphere for 30 Years Now"]

[Text] On 5 August 1963 the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain signed the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space, and Under Water.

Known as the Moscow Treaty or the Limited Test Ban Treaty, it came into force 10 October of the same year. Today 117 states are party to it. It is of unlimited duration. The initiators of its elaboration and conclusion were nuclear scientists, who understood better than anyone the danger of the consequences of explosions for the environment.

It is well known that the first nuclear device in the history of mankind was exploded by the United States in a desert region of New Mexico 16 July 1945. As of today the five member countries of the "nuclear club" have carried out 2,061 nuclear tests: the United States has carried out 1,061, the USSR 715, Great Britain 43, 21 of them jointly with the United States at the U.S. test site in Nevada, France 188, and China 37. And 501 of these tests were carried out in the atmosphere and eight under water.

The Moscow Treaty did not stop the arms race, but it substantially limited the process of creating ever more

lethal weapons. It made it impossible to carry out nuclear explosions in conditions as close as possible to combat conditions. Thanks to this treaty, the development of a nuclear war strategy and assessments of the efficacy of nuclear first-strike weapons and the survivability of nuclear retaliation forces began to move into the hypothetical sphere, which made them vague, and hence less realizable.

### Threat of Nuclear Proliferation Eyed

*PM0908121793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 1*

[Manki Ponomarev article: "The Spread of Nuclear Death Across the World Must Be Halted. The Anniversary of the Atom Bombing of Hiroshima Calls for This"]

[Text] When American atom bombs wiped Hiroshima and Nagasaki off the face of the earth 48 years ago, very few people could imagine the terrible danger hanging over mankind. Only as time wore on did even the most unsophisticated people come to realize that a black shadow of nuclear self-destruction had descended on the world.

The United States' desire to retain for itself a monopoly on doomsday weapons in order to dictate its will to others was not to be realized. A few years went by, and other countries joined the "nuclear club"—the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China.

At the present time enormous stocks of nuclear explosives have been accumulated in the world—about 910 tonnes of weapons-grade plutonium and approximately 1,300 tonnes of highly enriched uranium. Up to 40,000 nuclear weapons [boyezaryady] have been created. Their total yield is 1 million times that of the "Little Boy" atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima. It is possible that there would have been even more had the 25-year Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons not appeared at the end of the 1960's. It came into force 5 March 1970. Its objective was to create a firm barrier to the proliferation of the most dangerous type of weapons of mass destruction, to ensure the necessary international verification of the implementation of the commitments assumed by the parties to the treaty, and to create extensive opportunities for the peaceful use of atomic energy.

The treaty specifically singles out the group of signatory states that possess nuclear weapons. They do not have the right to transfer such weapons or control over them to anyone else. Moreover, under no circumstances are they to assist, encourage, or induce any state that does not possess nuclear weapons to produce or acquire them.

As for signatory states that do not possess nuclear weapons, under the treaty they pledge not to accept such weapons from anyone else, not to produce or acquire them in any other way, and not to attempt to secure or to accept assistance in order to produce these weapons.

Verification of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is carried out with the assistance of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], with which every signatory state that does not possess nuclear weapons concludes a corresponding agreement.

At the present time the treaty's signatories number approximately 160 world states, including the five great powers and UN Security Council members that possess such weapons. International conferences are convened regularly, once every five years, to examine the way the treaty is operating, and the necessary recommendations to preserve and strengthen the nonproliferation regime are formulated. The fifth conference, at which the future of the treaty will have to be determined, is due to be held in 1955 [as published].

In this connection a rather sharp debate has arisen around the world regarding the treaty's basic provisions. The fact is that in addition to the five great powers, another half-dozen countries already possess, are producing, or are able to produce at least two and sometimes more types of weapons of mass destruction—nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological—as well as the means to deliver them, or are attempting to acquire this potential. They include Israel, which according to certain reports has already accumulated 50 and possibly even 200 nuclear weapons; Pakistan, which possesses the components to make between five and seven nuclear bombs; and India, which tested an explosive nuclear device back in 1974. And it is no accident that all these three states are still refusing to accede to the Nonproliferation Treaty, saying, like India for example, that it is "discriminatory."

Iraq has also gone a long way toward developing nuclear weapons, despite the fact that in 1981 Israel bombed an experimental reactor in the suburbs of Baghdad that was producing fissionable material. Today many installations on Iraqi territory are being monitored by UN inspectors. The world community has grave doubts about the nuclear work that is being carried out by the DPRK in particularly secret conditions. There are a number of other states which, although signatories to the Nonproliferation Treaty, nevertheless already possess to a certain extent the technology and potential to develop weapons of mass destruction.

Because of the spread of nuclear weapons the world has already more than once found itself on the brink of disaster. Moreover, it is not just the United States and the USSR which could bring the world to this point, as was the case, for example, during the Cuban missile crisis, but also other countries which are sometimes referred to "unofficially nuclear." Thus, today it has emerged that at a time of sharply deteriorating relations between Pakistan and India in 1990, Islamabad put its nuclear forces in a state of combat readiness and Delhi prepared for a counterstrike.

The nuclear weapons nonproliferation problem has arisen with new force because of the breakup of the

Soviet Union. Some of the former USSR's strategic nuclear forces are now on the territory of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Last spring they signed the so-called Lisbon Protocol, under which they pledged to ratify the START I Treaty, move to Russia the strategic offensive weapons located on their territory, and accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons as nonnuclear states.

To date only Belarus is fully implementing the pledges it assumed. It has ratified the START I Treaty, and two weeks ago in Washington it deposited the documents attesting to its accession to the Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state. But Kazakhstan, although it has ratified the START I Treaty, has not yet acceded to the Nonproliferation Treaty.

Ukraine is adopting an ambiguous position. At one moment its leaders (especially during foreign visits) state that they are renouncing nuclear weapons and will implement the Lisbon Protocol, at the next they take steps that place Ukraine in the category of nuclear states, for example subordinating "S" installations, i.e. nuclear-technical installations, stationed on its territory to the 43d Army. And then suddenly Kiev declares itself the owner of the nuclear weapons left on Ukrainian territory after the breakup of the USSR, and President Leonid Kravchuk himself asserts that in any case he will keep 46 SS-24 intercontinental ballistic missiles, which allegedly do not fall within the ambit of the START Treaty. In this way, a Russian Federation Government statement published yesterday states, the regime established by the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons is being undermined, and the future of the treaty itself is under threat.

Of course, attempts of this sort to "correct" international documents and commitments cannot have legal force. They only deepen the alarm of the world community which is already afraid that the destabilization of the situation on former USSR territory could lead to a weakening of control over nuclear weapons and the export of nuclear materials and technologies abroad.

In these conditions most countries, as far as can be judged at the present time, favor an unlimited duration and unconditional extension of the validity of the Nonproliferation Treaty. Moreover, increasingly often ideas are being put forward which, going beyond the framework of the treaty, supplement and enlarge it and ultimately aim to fully rid mankind of nuclear weapons and the threats connected with them. These ideas include signing a treaty within the next year or two that completely and universally bans nuclear testing, halting the production of fissionable materials for military purposes until the end of the century, further cutting Russian Federation and U.S. nuclear arsenals to a level below that envisaged by the START I and START II Treaties, and the inclusion of Britain, France, and China in this process.

As far as Russia is concerned, it is resolutely in favor of preserving and strengthening the nonproliferation regime, which serves noble ends—ridding the Earth's inhabitants of the fear of finding themselves beneath the canopy of the nuclear mushroom. The mushroom which grew for the first time above Hiroshima and the entire planet 48 years ago—at 0815 hours on 6 August 1945.

## Polish Side 'Misinterpreted' Delay in Withdrawing Brigade

*PM1008093793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 2*

[Aleksandr Bugay report: "Colonel General L. Kovalev: 'The Polish Side Has No Grounds To Claim That We Are Violating the Treaty'"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, Colonel General L. Kovalev, the Russian Federation Government's plenipotentiary for matters of the presence of Russian troops in Poland, made a decision 2 August to delay the withdrawal of a communications brigade from the Rembertow Garrison near Warsaw and to halt the handover of the real estate of the military camp where it is stationed. This decision was made in connection with the fact that the question of housing the military mission set up by agreement between the Polish and Russian Governments on the passage of our troops withdrawn from the FRG through Polish Republic territory has not been resolved.

"Since May 1992, after the signing of the intergovernmental documents on the withdrawal of the Russian troops temporarily in Poland, the Western Group of Forces command has undertaken all measures to ensure their prompt withdrawal," Col. Gen. Kovalev said. "The withdrawal is being carried out in strict accordance with the timetable, and has been modified only in the direction of shortening the deadlines.

"On the subject of the decision I made specifically 2 August to delay the withdrawal of military subunits from Rembertow and to halt the handover of real estate at this garrison, it was misinterpreted by Brigadier General Z. Ostrowski, the Polish Republic's plenipotentiary for matters of the presence of Russian troops in Poland, and the Polish mass media. The situation is much simpler. In accordance with the Treaty on the Legal Status of Soviet Troops Temporarily Stationed in Poland, the Rembertow Garrison, until it is handed over to the Polish side, is a territory at the disposal of Soviet, nowadays Russian troops. According to the treaty on the withdrawal of troops it can remain such until the end of 1993. In making the decision to house members of the military mission on the territory in question pending a final resolution of the question of the mission's permanent accommodations, I have not violated intergovernmental treaties concluded between our states.

"As for delaying the departure of the military train on which the communication brigade's subunits were due to depart, this was done only to ensure that the camp we are

vacating was secure from theft and burglary until the arrival of security subunits from Legnica."

### Differences Over Quarters for Military Noted

*PM0908154993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 93 First Edition p 3*

[Leonid Kornilov report: "Russian Military Communications Personnel Leave Poland for Motherland"]

[Text] Warsaw—Friday [6 August], at 1300 hours Moscow time, the Russian Special Communications Brigade left the military settlement in Rembertow near Warsaw. Such was the decision made by General L. Kovalev, Russian Government plenipotentiary for questions of the presence of Russian troops in Poland. The Russian general invited representatives of the Polish Government to the farewell ceremony.

This subunit—one of the last—leaves Poland three days later than announced by L. Kovalev (for an account of the reasons for the delay in departing, see IZVESTIYA for 5 August), but eight days earlier than the deadline established by the original schedule adopted by the two sides.

However, the fate of the arrangement to billet—not free of charge, note, but on a rental basis—the military mission of 30 Russian officers tasked with ensuring the efficient transit of troops leaving Germany (for which Poland is earning 60 million Swiss francs) remains unclear. The importance of the efficient work of this mission for Russia, the FRG, and Poland is quite clear. However, the Polish side is prepared to discuss the question of billeting the mission only once all premises in Rembertow have been vacated.

At a press conference 5 August Prime Minister H. Suchocka reaffirmed the cabinet's well known stance: "The Polish Government believes that the (Russian) embassy building is being used contrary to its purpose, and room for the military mission can be found there." The Russian side continues to insist on its stance: The embassy cannot allow either the "militarization" or the "commercialization" of its territory (which is what the Polish authorities are hinting at). Thus the game of ambitions is injuring not only military interests, but also the dignity of Russia's diplomatic mission.

### Japanese Foreign Minister Comments on Relations

*LD1008084393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0819 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo August 10 TASS—Japanese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Tsutomu Hata, who asssumed office on Monday, told a group of reporters from Tokyo newspapers in an interview published today that it was necessary to attach primary importance to economic aid to Russia. In his opinion, the territorial dispute between the two countries could be settled in the course of this process. The reporters wanted to know about the new Japanese coalition government's stand on key international issues.

"I deem it important to hold frank negotiations with Russia," Hata told the reporters. "However, it is most important at present to ensure political and economic stability in Russia. Japan will cooperate with it the best it can. In the course of this process, I presume, we will be able to settle the problem of northern territories too." The minister also said he did not rule out the possibility of his visit to Moscow.

Hata said that relations between Japan and the United States were of particular importance both to Asia and to the entire world. In light of this, he expressed readiness to try to overcome the disbalance in bilateral trade and to reduce Japan's excessively active payments balance of by boosting domestic demand.

On the whole, the minister replied positively to the question about Tokyo's possible membership in the Security Council. He stated that Japan had every ground for this within the frameworks of its current Constitution. Hata also went on record for the earliest definition of Tokyo's official stand on the termless prolongation of the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty. It is common knowledge that the previous Liberal-Democratic government had refused to support such a decision unconditionally which, according to Hata, may "needlessly give a distorted picture" of Japan's stand on nuclear weapons.

### NATO Officers on Official Visit to St. Petersburg

*LD1008025893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1706 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Zavinovskiy]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 9 Aug—A group of military men from the Joint NATO Armed Forces in the North European theater of military operations is in the city on the Neva on an official visit. The group includes representatives from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Norway, and Denmark. This is the first visit to Russia by a delegation of high-ranking officers of the NATO staff.

Leslie Hagan, the head of the NATO delegation, deputy chief of staff of the administration for questions of international cooperation, said the official visit was the result of an agreement between the Russian defense minister, Army General Pavel Grachev, and Supreme Allied Commander for Europe Gen. John Shalikashvili. The head of the delegation told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the program of military cooperation and exchange of visits between the military representatives of Russia and NATO is "fairly substantial and business-like."

"In the near future we shall be given the opportunity to visit one of the warships of the Russian Navy and also one of the units of land forces. For our part we shall get to know the Russian Army more closely in an atmosphere of trust and openness," he stressed.

In order to become acquainted with the Russian Armed Forces, tomorrow the NATO representatives will fly to Severomorsk and will then visit Kaliningrad.

### Foreign Ministry Aide on Russian Debt to UN

*PM0908165593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 93 First Edition p 3*

[Maksim Gan report: "Financial Crisis Places 'Blue Helmets' Peacekeeping Operation in Jeopardy"]

[Excerpts] The United Nations Organization has found itself virtually on the brink of bankruptcy. In a letter sent to the 15 Security Council members, UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali announced that as of today there are $380 million left in the organization's coffers at a time when monthly expenditure stands at $310 million. [passage omitted]

As the Russian Foreign Ministry told IZVESTIYA's correspondent, the tense situation as regards financing UN peacekeeping forces did not emerge overnight. There has recently been a drastic rise in the number of expensive peacekeeping operations, with expenditure totaling around $3 billion. Russia is reducing its debts in respect of the regular budget, and plans to settle up for 1992 in full in the near future.

Matters are worse in respect to debts pertaining to the budget for peacekeeping operations, which comprise around $450 million. One reason for delays in making payments is the difficult economic situation in the country. So far Russia has contributed money only to finance the "blue helmets" in former Yugoslavia.

### EBRD To Assist Regeneration of Siberian Oil Wells

*LD1008100493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Text] An agreement has been signed between Russia and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development on the regeneration of oil wells in western Siberia. The bank's board of directors has approved the allocation of 145.3 million ecu to Russia to improve oil production in western Siberia and to increase exports. This backing, in the view of Russian Fuel and Power Engineering Yuriy Shafranik, will improve oil production and arrest the slump in oil production, thus increasing the Russian Federation's creditworthiness.

## Political Issues

### Yeltsin Administration Aide Views Coup Prospects

*PM0908155193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 4*

[Interview with Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy head of the president's administration, by observer Olga Burkaleva; place and date not given: "Another Putsch: Myth Or Reality"]

[Text] [Burkaleva] In my view, the current political situation is very similar to the situation that developed at the same time in 1991. If you analyze events and the correlation between them, you may conclude that we may be on the verge of another putsch.

What does the presidential team think about this, coming as it does under constant fire from critical opponents?

[Volkov] All the material that the president's team has at its disposal, the results of our monitoring of the situation, and specialists' opinions boil down to the fact that the Supreme Soviet and its chairman personally, with the active assistance of Vice President Rutskoy, the "fifth deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet," are doing everything they can to put into effect the formula "the worse things are, the better." Because, if things go badly, it is primarily worse for the president. In my view, they are no longer thinking about the state or the people. And their biggest crime, in my opinion, is their urging Russia's oblasts to create republics. That is borne out by Khasbulatov's behavior during the prereferendum and referendum campaign when he said that the referendum would bring about a split in society. But that did not happen. On the contrary, society became consolidated and trusted the president. His flights of fancy that the Constitutional Conference would also bring about a split in society also proved worthless. The draft of the new constitution was approved by this conference and many components of the Federation, which took an active part in formulating this draft. The Supreme Soviet chairman was accordingly left with one option—to repeat what Gorbachev and Lukyanov's apparatus did in the past to sovereignize the republics within the former Union. And he is following that scenario precisely at the Russian level. The man gives priority to personal ambition and the striving to preserve his personal position at any cost. Because that man loses everything, just like Rutskoy, if a new constitution is adopted and new elections are scheduled.

[Burkaleva] This situation once again conjures up the summer of 1991 when the future putschists lost everything in precisely the same way when the Union Treaty was signed. And the fullness of power toward which they had advanced by carefully devised means slipped away from them....

[Volkov] Their actions cannot be justified, even from human positions. Although some people are trying to do so by using the following argument: "Since they are losing everything, they are forced to fight." But that is not a state-minded approach. After all, there is another method of interaction aside from struggle—cooperation.

[Burkaleva] Their reluctance to enter into cooperation (strictly speaking, they say they are willing, but their actions say otherwise inasmuch as they all only intensify the confrontation) is also attributable to the fact that it is not only they who are losing everything but also their entourage, which is inciting them to the confrontational actions.

[Volkov] As for Khasbulatov's entourage, it is practically the same apparatus which came to him from Gorbachev—these are people who have virtually not changed. Finding themselves in a fertile environment to continue their destructive activity, they are still acting as they did before. Nothing has in effect changed. Khasbulatov himself for all his evil genius could not do a great deal. But, naturally, the art of manipulation which former CPSU Central Committee personnel—Khasbulatov's entourage—possess constantly prompts him to take paths that are ruinous for our state, ruinous for the president and for the transformation of Russia. After all, they do not want the transformations. They previously led good lives. And if the administrative-edict system is revived now, they will take to it like ducks to water.

To my great regret, some people's deputies who originally supported Boris Nikolayevich when he was elected Supreme Soviet chairman have also joined forces around Khasbulatov, forming the powerful force that is now running the show in the Supreme Soviet. The mistake that we and many people's deputies made was to think, like the analysts who assessed the situation following the referendum, that the deed had been done and that many people's representatives would organize their activity in keeping with the results of the referendum and put its results into practice, which is quite logical. But that, regrettably, did not happen. They rallied around Khasbulatov, who creates blatant conditions for bribery. The adoption of the law on the social protection of deputies in the form of amendments to the Law "On the Status of People's Deputy" is an eloquent indication of that. This is altogether disgraceful. It is shameful to the people. You sometimes wonder whether they should renounce their deputy's powers, because the people will after all judge every people's deputy on the actions taken by the majority of the corps of deputies which is adopting these decisions. There is only one thing holding them back—the fact that a quorum will be needed when voting on the draft of the new constitution and that literally every vote will count, and the fact that when it comes to the crunch they may find themselves unable to influence the process. That is what is holding many deputies back.

Of course, the image of a particular deputy would increase if he were to resign his powers, and that would

give him a tremendous head start for any future elections in which he is involved, but it is necessary to act on the premise that the president needs our support now. And if we dissolve our own ranks and reduce the quorum, we will thus be making it easier for the Supreme Soviet chairman to resolve "his" questions.

[Burkaleva] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, what possibilities do you see in this situation for a peaceful solution to the political crisis?

[Volkov] Recently I have often remembered what Lenin said about the key gains needed to seize power, to whit: the banks, telephones, and wire companies. Evidently the Supreme Soviet followed Ilich's precepts and considered such matters during the last few weeks of its session. For instance, the question of the electronic mass media. Oversight councils were set up which, in my view, constitute a new form of censorship. The question of the banks was examined, in particular the question of the procedure for hiring and firing the chairman of the Central Bank of Russia. Incidentally, the president's amendments saying that the Central Bank chairman is appointed by the Supreme Soviet on the president's submission did not get through, just as virtually all the president's proposals fail to get through. It sometimes seems that all that is needed to ensure that the Supreme Soviet does not approve a question is for the initiative for its adoption to come from the president's side.

And finally, the Supreme Soviet has transferred the state property administration to different jurisdiction (and the question of property is a key one in any revolution) and made considerable amendments to the implementation of privatization by suspending the president's edict on state guarantees during the privatization process.

[Burkaleva] So what does the president's team intend to do in response to the fact that the Supreme Soviet is tackling questions of bringing the power levers of the state under its own control, effectively redistributing powers among the various branches of authority?

[Volkov] It is necessary to act by peaceful and legal means alone. The president's team has only one option. To go its own way and ignore the Supreme Soviet's decisions, exploiting the monolithic, cohesive nature of its ranks, something that the Supreme Soviet leadership is constantly trying to dissuade us from doing, which is also part of the political struggle. That is not in keeping with my personal convictions regarding the formation of a rule-of-law state, but I do not, regrettably, see any other option at the moment.

[Burkaleva] How can this be put into effect?

[Volkov] The Supreme Soviet has for instance adopted a decision abrogating a presidential edict. But the executive vertical led by the president, the government, the State Committee for the Management of State Property [Goskomimushchestvo], and its committees at local level does after all exist. And the structures of power presuppose jurisdiction from top to bottom. All the administrative structures that permeate the components of the Federation must come under the jurisdiction of the president as head of the executive, the premier, and the ministries.

Of course, a great deal depends on the premier himself. In particular, in the latter instance, when the Supreme Soviet adopted the decision and granted the government the right to delegate powers to ministries and departments regarding the disposal of state property, the government has two options. The first is to delegate powers. The second is to reserve them for itself. The former means suspending privatization. That is, officials will decide what should be sold to whom, and naturally many of them now have an interest in that, but given an iron will, the government can and must, when implementing this same decree, transfer all these powers to...[State Property Committee Chairman] Chubays.

[Burkaleva] The fight for every person in the government begins here. Khasbulatov previously fought for every person in the Supreme Soviet and in the Congress, and got his own way, making short work of the democratic opposition. Although forces are calling themselves the opposition in the Supreme Soviet which are essentially not an opposition but hold the majority, and moreover the deciding, leading majority in the Supreme Soviet. And if they are considered to be an opposition, it is only in relation to the president. So the next phase in Khasbulatov's struggle is the struggle for influence over each member of the government. Do you think that members of the government will falter in that situation?

[Volkov] I believe in the good sense of the chairman of our Council of Ministers. I think he realized during his dealings with Khasbulatov and Rutskoy at roundtables sessions the kind of people they are and the kind of goals they are pursuing. Khasbulatov wants to wrest the government away from the president, transfer it to his jurisdiction, and then by means of decisions adopted by the Supreme Soviet to seize full power within the government and get rid of the premier. That is obvious. He has long seen himself as the leader of economic reform. He is already feeling cramped within the Supreme Soviet framework. But however much a certain part of the Supreme Soviet may rant and rave, he sees that reforms are taking place and are taking a course whereby there is every precondition to be confident that they cannot be reversed.

And he wants to be in the premier's place. Everyone is aware that he has repeatedly recommended himself to Yelstin for this post, which was what caused the conflict between them. Yeltsin constantly denied him the position. He has now decided to solve this problem from a different angle.

I think that Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin] has long since grasped this fact and is perfectly well aware of everything. That is why, in my view, he did not take part in the All-Russia Economic Conference organized by

Khasbulatov, following the regional conferences in which members of the government implementing the economic reform took part.

The government scheduled these conferences a long time ago. Representatives of executive structures in the central regions met in Orel and similar conferences were held in Novosibirsk and St. Petersburg. The aim of these conferences being to determine the most painful spots in the implementation of economic reform in the regions, clarify positions, and compare opinions in order to then advance together with the components of the Federation. These conferences were a form of consultations with components of the Federation to examine questions of broadening their rights in implementing the economic reform and collaborating with the center, that is, the Council of Ministers. The government is taking the tough stance that must be taken in this situation, and did not take part in the other conference, which might be used to rubber-stamp the decisions that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet finds desirable.

[Burkaleva] That also reminds me of 1991 when the so-called war of laws occurred between the Union and Russian parliament, which at the time was working on preparing a legislative base for the implementation of the economic reforms that are now being carried out. Now it has done a complete turnaround and is doing its utmost to delay these reforms. This "war of laws" has now as it were been transformed into a war of legislative acts issued by the Supreme Soviet on the president's edicts and government documents that are designed to continue the economic reforms. But that situation cannot last forever. Sooner or later the number of these acts will reach critical point. One can of course ignore the other side's laws, but in time, as we know, quantity becomes quality. And what then?

[Volkov] This formula is certainly in operation and has been borne out by world experience; that is why, when analyzing the situation, the only solution that emerges is the speediest adoption of the constitution and the holding of elections. We have no other option. But we have already encountered obstacles from the Supreme Soviet. Confident that the president and his team would take the legitimate road and, consequently, be forced either into a congress or to appeal to the components of the Federation, our opponents have worked out their moves and taken the appropriate countermeasures. The chairmen of the soviets, through which the discussion of the draft constitution must proceed, are now doing their utmost to sabotage sessions of their soviets, citing organizational rather than ideological grounds for this. That does not apply to all soviet chairmen. There are sensible people among them who intend to hold sessions in the near future and examine the draft constitution. But those chairmen who are making it impossible to obtain the desired two-thirds of the components of the Federation to approve the draft constitution justify their refusal to hold sessions by alluding to vacations, the harvest, and so on, and are postponing these sessions until September, thus delaying the next plenary session where it could be said that the components of the Federation back the draft of the new constitution. And once they have approved the draft constitution it would be possible speak of the next phase in its adoption.

But since the sessions are not being held, the scenario formulated by the Supreme Soviet prevails. That is, first hold a congress on the economy and then on adopting a new constitution once the components of the Federation have examined the draft. We have no time. Speed is the most important thing now.

[Burkaleva] I would say that it is not only speed but also initiative. It is no secret that the person whose scenario is governing the development of events is the person who "stands to gain."

[Volkov] Of course. In taking the legitimate path, we are falling in with the scenario proposed by the Supreme Soviet, which regards the Constitutional Conference's draft not as a base but as an addendum to the draft formulated by the Constitutional Commission. Attempts are, moreover, being made to enlarge the composition of the latter, making it a constitutional conference virtually parallel with the president's.

Therefore, in my view, we must exploit the positive elements that we possess. Why for instance should those republics and oblasts that have already approved the draft of the new constitution not submit an initiative for convening a Congress?

[Burkaleva] Opinions are being voiced that there is now no point in adopting a new constitution in the form in which the Constitutional Conference approved it—instead an interim constitutional act should be adopted that would suit everyone. The reason being this. A constitution enshrines the consolidation of society—that is, once consensus has been reached in society on key issues, that consensus is enshrined in the constitution. If total consensus does not exist, but there is partial consensus, it can be enshrined by adopting an interim constitutional act.

[Volkov] Once again there is talk of adopting something, but if so, where should it be adopted? If such proposals come from the Supreme Soviet or the Congress, naturally the Constitutional Conference will take them into consideration. If that wins the approval of two-thirds of the Congress or the components of the Federation, then maybe we should go that route. But something must nonetheless be adopted. Whether it be a constitution or an interim constitutional act.

[Burkaleva] The Supreme Soviet has prepared a draft law on the procedure for adopting a new constitution.

[Volkov] But it contains the kind of norms that preclude the adoption of any kind of constitution. Everything is geared toward not adopting a constitution.

[Burkaleva] Is that in line with their aims?

[Volkov] Of course, conditions are thus being created for them to hang onto their powers until the end of their term. Then the situation may change and reelections may be won. But I am in favor of convening a Congress in August. Then at least it will be clear how to act next.

[Burkaleva] Do you think that is possible?

[Volkov] Everything is possible. When the Russian Supreme Soviet session met 20 August 1991 that was also vacation time. However, everyone came along because there was a threat to the Russian state. Everyone realized that. Now we must show society, using the mass media and democratic formations, that a threat as dangerous as that in 1991 is looming over society. An equally dangerous threat. And I stress that once again. Many public organizations have already realized that. The Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia has now adopted a very serious appeal to the president demanding that a new constitution be adopted most speedily and elections scheduled for fall 1993. "Democratic Russia" and the "Living Ring" movement have submitted an initiative to collect signatures in favor of holding a referendum. That is, there is now understanding. Not condemnation of the president for taking the legitimate path. There is understanding of the fact that, God forbid, a civil war will break out on the president's initiative or because of one incautious move on his part. He and he alone will ultimately be blamed for everything. I think that it is now very important to heed public opinion. There is a very serious threat. It was not for nothing that Rutskoy said in Vladivostok that two or three months remain until we take power, throw the democrats out, and indict them. He urged the 35th division stationed in Amur Oblast to take an active political stance. The authority and the foundations of power which have actually already been formed are being deliberately undermined. Were it not for the resistance from our opponents, and if were there constructive cooperation, then according to the specialists we would have long since—this summer even—have had a stable situation in the economic sphere. We would have developed economic reforms in an ongoing, more dynamic way. But the situation is developing in such a way that the forces which do not want these reforms have become very active and are ready to try anything. The Supreme Soviet is simply provoking the president into drastic actions against the Supreme Soviet and the policy it is pursuing. One provocation follows another. Intimidation has also begun. The search of Poltoranin's place, the fact that Shumeyko was deprived of immunity without criminal proceedings being instituted.... Another persecution of another member of the government. Work is under way to demoralize the government. It is impossible to work like that. They are preventing us from making progress and, figuratively speaking, have tied us hand and foot. Yet they say at the same time that they are acting in the interests of the people, to provide them with social benefits, while effectively disregarding their opinion. I think that everyone is aware of the contradictions in this.

[Burkaleva] I would like to return to the problems of the economy. The privatization process has evidently now entered the phase when nomenklatura privatization "is being left behind." The leaders of departments and ministries are taking part in privatization as ordinary Russian citizens. It is probably the last moment when officials can still extort for themselves almost official privileges in the privatization process. And if they miss it...the train will have left. By controlling the privatization process they can acquire tidy sums for their services....

[Volkov] Naturally they have lobbied their deputies and committee representatives very hard regarding the privatization decisions that have been adopted. Because if distribution functions are surrended to the ministries, naturally a stream of directors would immediately come along offering their services, on the principle "he is a director—he is the boss." And that would revive the process of nomenklatura privatization that we encountered in early 1992 before Chubays's privatization program was adopted. Nomenklatura privatization, bribery, and corruption are now beginning to develop with greater momentum than in 1992 before the privatization program was adopted.

The people have now felt themselves to be the bosses. Large rights have been surrendered to labor collectives. The whole population is taking part in privatization by investing vouchers. Here you were right in pointing out that the leaders of enterprises, even though they have some privileges, do not have the privileges that they will have once the Supreme Soviet's decisions are adopted. They are becoming the main link in the acquisition of state property. And naturally the temptation is great and many will not fail to feather their nest.

[Burkaleva] In my view, while speaking of the need to combat corruption, the Supreme Soviet has legislatively created the conditions for it to prosper. Namely by farming out the process of privatization to departments, soviets, and directors. And that will only increase the corruption....

[Volkov] Naturally, that is also a case of acting on the principle of "the worse things are, the better." But that is one side of the coin. You were quite right to remark on and quite accurate in drawing the analogy with the situation in June 1992. Absolutely accurate. The more successful reform is, the more vigorous and unprincipled the Supreme Soviet's actions become.

But that is where I also see the political aspect of this question. After all, the active stance (and the correct stance) on privatization espoused by the State Property Committee has molded, shall we say, a very large number of directors who are already thinking in a new way. An association of privatized and private enterprises has been formed. And the better privatization goes, the more rapidly the number of its members grows—and it is growing all the time. There is nothing surprising in that

because they are people of a different stamp and enterprises of a different kind. This constitutes a new social base for the reforms. And that is what the Supreme Soviet is afraid of.

[Burkaleva] But a cornered individual is unpredictable and dangerous. And many people who are about to lose levers of power that seemed so real.... That is probably impelling them to take very determined action. Now we are coming to the point at which our conversation began. The premonition of another putsch, only with the difference that the situation is more dramatic than in 1991. What steps can we expect from those who are cornered?

[Volkov] What they are experiencing now is their death throes. And the only solution is to speed up the constitutional process and, within the framework of that process, discuss the Law on Elections and hold elections as soon as possible. How do we find the legitimate path here? That is the number one task. And there are dangerous elements here, in my view. If the elections are not held during the fall of 1993, that may bring about an irretrievable situation.

[Burkaleva] Does the president have up his sleeve any solutions to this problem-filled situation?

[Volkov] I think so.

## Government Activities, Decisions Updated

*PM0908153193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Excerpt] **Meetings, Conferences, Trips**

Russian Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin completed preparations for the grand Council of Ministers which will meet today in the Kremlin. The Russian premier will deliver a report "On the Russian Federation's Socioeconomic Situation and Measures To Stabilize It." Yesterday Viktor Chernomyrdin held working meetings and consultations with cabinet members.

First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko received Cuban Ambassador Mr. Montenegro. Discussions were held on a wide range of issues concerning Russian-Cuban economic relations.

In the morning First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov hosted a conference on the problems of the development of Leningrad Oblast. The rest of the day was devoted to preparations for the enlarged Council of Ministers sitting.

Late in the evening First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets returned from Belgorod, where he held meetings with heads of Belgorod Oblast city and rayon administrations and consultations with directors of industrial enterprises. The results of work in the first half of 1993 were also discussed.

Vice Premiers Boris Fedorov and Aleksandr Zaveryukha took part in a conference to discuss progress in harvesting and procuring agricultural output. Talk centered on conserving the harvest and on adopting the necessary measures to ensure that it is brought in on time.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray was in the state of emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, where the situation remains tense.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov prepared for a seminar-conference on questions concerning the elaboration, coordination, and implementation of social policy at federal and regional levels, which will take place Saturday 7 August.

Vice Premiers Anatoliy Chubays and Aleksandr Shokhin are on vacation.

**Denials**

The apparatus of the Russian Federation Government first vice premier has denied foreign news agency reports which have reached Moscow regarding a visit to Baghdad by a Russian Federation economic delegation led by Oleg Lobov.

**Comments**

More than 70 percent of Russian families with two or more children are below the poverty line. This was stated by Russian Federation Social Protection Minister Ella Pamfilova at a sitting of the ministry's collegium.

Russian Government First Deputy Chairman Oleg Soskovets announced his intention to propose that the government elaborate measures of state protectionism for defense enterprises. Speaking in Belgorod at a conference with oblast enterprise leaders, he explained that he intends to halt the import of equipment which is also produced in Russia. This, he believes, will make it possible to protect producers of technological output which cannot compete with the West. "Otherwise our commodity producers will simply be crushed," he noted.

At a sitting of the Russian Federation Security Council Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption it is proposed to outline measures to improve law and order in the country. This was announced by Russian Federation Security Council Secretary Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. He noted that at present the problem of combating corruption and crime is developing into the problem of a power struggle. "Corrupt individuals, racketeers, and other criminal elements are striving to gain influence over both economic and political structures of state power, or rather over two branches of state power—the executive and the legislative. They organize streams of disinformation, and moreover on such a scale that they are starting to threaten state interests," Marshal Shaposhnikov stressed.

The Russian Federation Security Council secretary announced that at the Interdepartmental Commission

sitting he will propose that that the commission pool efforts to coordinate the activity of all law-enforcement organs. Moreover, he proposes to appeal to all officials and mass media sources not to allow ill thought-out statements and accusations by political opponents regarding law violations to appear in the press. "Only a court can define the extent of anybody's genuine guilt," Ye. Shaposhnikov stressed.

The dissenting [osobyy] stance assumed by Boris Fedorov, vice premier and Russian minister of finance, on the issue of withdrawing 1961-1992 bank notes is deemed by Russian Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin to be "B. Fedorov's personal stance, and no more than that." "In this instance, my subordinate speaks only as Fedorov." V. Chernomyrdin stressed: "The government's viewpoint on the operation to withdraw bank notes was and remains unchanged, and nobody in the government but Fedorov holds any other views. I convened the cabinet presidium after the bank note operation began. Nobody but the finance minister holds any dissenting view on this score." In the premier's opinion, "there has been no deterioration in the economic situation since the operation concerning old money began."

**Documents**

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin approved the statute regarding the use of cash registers during cash transactions with the population and the list of enterprises and organizations which, because of the specifics of their activity, have been authorized to manage without using such technology. Cash registers must be used during the receipt of cash by enterprises, institutions, and organizations (including kiosks, stalls, and other permanent trade outlets) under all types of ownership which are trading or providing paid services to the population. In particular, small-scale retail trade in agricultural produce from carts, tanks (beer, kvass, milk), hawker's trays, and baskets at kolkhoz and other markets with equivalent status is authorized not to use them. [passage omitted]

## New Justice Minister Favors More Power for Ministry

*LD0908172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By KRIM-PRESS correspondent Nikolay Semenenko for TASS]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug—Being an executive power body with the right of legislative initiative, the Justice Ministry ought to have a leading role in the work to draft new laws. This was asserted in an interview for KRIM-PRESS by Yuriy Kalmykov, who was appointed Russia's justice minister on 5 August.

At present, at least two other structures apart from the Justice Ministry, i.e. the Russian Federation president's State Legal Administration and the appropriate Supreme Soviet committees, are involved in drafting new laws. In Kalmykov's words, "not only do they duplicate one another's work," but they often "bring even more confusion into the country's legal system, which is quite involved as it is."

Yuriy Kalmykov believes that both the procuracy and the penal institutions ought to be subordinate to the Justice Ministry, as is the case in most civilized countries.

The justice minister is acutely aware of the difficulties he will have to face in carrying out such a reorganization: While the Interior Ministry is on the whole prepared to give up penal institutions, which at present come under its jurisdiction, the procuracy is unlikely to "give in without a fight."

The minister regards giving a new impetus to the court reform underway in Russia as one of important lines of activity for himself. The ministry headed by Yuriy Kalmykov counts on receiving in the near future the necessary means to allow it to begin the practical implementation of the relevant laws already adopted. Thus, there are plans to set up jury courts in five regions of the country as early as November this year. At the beginning of 1994 such courts are to appear in four other oblasts of Russia.

## President's Security Service Denies Keeping Rutskoy Dossier

*MK0608110893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 40, 6 Aug 93 (Signed to press 5 Aug) p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Presidential Main Security Directorate Keeps No Dossiers"]

[Text] Andrey Olegov, the President's Main Security Directorate [GUO] press secretary, has declared that GUO keeps no dossiers on Aleksandr Rutskoy, Ruslan Khasbulatov, Valentin Stepankov, or Viktor Barannikov. According to Mr. Olegov, the directorate has a staff of some 8,000 people, including the presidential regiment and attendant personnel, not 18,000, as PRAVDA asserted on 4 August. GUO has no counter-intelligence, telephone monitoring, or "external surveillance" services of its own.

## Security Council Staff Structure Highlighted

*MK1008082693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 10 Aug 93 p 3*

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Security Council Changes Political Appearance"]

[Text] The Russian Security Council has moved to set up a staff designed to draw up a national security concept and strategic recommendations for the executive branch. Russian President Boris Yeltsin recently signed an edict and a package of regulations approving the Security Council's new personnel outline and main functions. As

a high-ranking official at the presidential administration noted, following the departure of Yuriy Skokov, under whom there were 10 people on the Security Council staff, the situation has changed drastically: presently, the Council's staff numbers 150 people, of whom 117 are high-ranking officials. According to observers, the steep increase in the staff size may mean that the Security Council's influence on the president and his political team may grow in the near future.

Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Security Council acting secretary, told your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent in an exclusive interview about the new objectives facing the Council. Among its priority areas, he mentioned the drawing up of a national security concept, which has never existed in Russia. This document would help coordinate activities of all the branches of power, and also of ministries and agencies. The national security concept will determine, among other things, foreign policy priorities and potential threats to Russia's security, both foreign and internal. In Mr. Shaposhnikov's view, this concept should be approved by the parliament.

Another completely new feature in the operation of the revamped council, mentioned by Security Council chiefs, is its greater openness toward the mass media. Unlike Yuriy Skokov, who preferred to stay away from the press, the new Security Council secretary has been granting interviews liberally. The Council's chiefs also plan to set up their own coordinating research council. As for the Supreme Soviet's unwillingness to appoint the marshal to this post, Mr. Shaposhnikov said: "I serve not the branches of power, but my motherland."

Despite his appealing openness, however, what Shaposhnikov would discuss regarding the details of the Council's operation was far from complete. In particular, the marshal would not speak about the Security Council's budget, making it clear, however, that it is fairly sufficient. Nor would Mr. Shaposhnikov comment on the shakeup in the council's structure that has already been approved by presidential edict.

Although Security Council chiefs believe that the Council's structure holds no interest for the public, a careful study of it gives an insight into the shakeups that have already occurred and those yet to come in some divisions of the president's administration. The new structure of the Security Council staff is different from the old one in three main ways. First, the Security Council secretary is now ex-officio chief of staff. Second, the new pattern of the Security Council structure envisages three administrations split according to their functions, and not to the subjects they deal with, as was the case formerly. The third interesting feature, according to KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts, is the increase in the status of interdepartmental commissions that were of purely nominal importance under Yuriy Skokov. Recently, a number of commissions have been set up, including commissions on the environment, on the military-industrial sector, and on crime, which are headed as a rule by presidential advisers. Presumably, this means that the institution of presidential advisers is expected to be abolished. Another priority area of the Security Council's operation is the fight against crime and corruption. To this end, a separate administration was set up at the Security Council staff, whereas the operation of all the other interdepartmental commissions' working staffs is supervised by the specialized Administration for Coordination and Interaction.

The list of Security Council staffers, whose salaries are equated to those of similar staffers at the presidential administration:

Deputy Secretary to the Colonel General-Deputy Chief to the Presidential Administration

Assistant Secretary to the Colonel General-Chief of the Russian President's State and Law Administration

Administration Chief to the Security Council Staff-Administration Chief to the Presidential Administration

Secretariat Chief to the Lieutenant General-Secretariat Chief to the Presidential Administration

Deputy Secretariat Chief to the Major General-First Deputy Department Chief to the Presidential Administration The Structure of the Security Council Staff:

Russian President

Security Council [SC]—SC Interdepartmental Commissions

SC Secretary—Chief of Staff

Deputies—Assistants—Secretariat

Information and Analysis Administration

Coordination and Interaction Administration

Administration for the Support of the Operation of the Russian Federation SC Commission for the Fight Against Crime and Corruption

## Economic Issues

### Chernomyrdin Says Crisis Seems To Be 'Weakening'

*LD0908140093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1125 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] In the words of Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, the creation of a new mechanism for state influence over the economy is of particular importance today. Despite the complexity of the economic situation there are the first signs of a weakening of the crisis. Specifically, inflation dropped from 30 percent in January-February 1993 to 20 percent by the middle of the year. In March-April it stood at 16 percent. Since the beginning of last year, the non-state sector of the Russian economy has grown from 13 to 42 percent. Viktor Chernomyrdin noted that privatization has already produced the necessary results.

## Industrialists Union's Volskiy Interviewed on Reforms

*PM0908135193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 93 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, by political observer Boris Slavin; place and date not given: "Arkadiy Volskiy: 'Time To Change Vector of Reforms'"]

[Text] [Slavin] Arkadiy Ivanovich, you assessed the result of the reforms which are being carried out as the end of the economic "blitzkrieg" and the theory which lies at their basis as "social Darwinism." Are you still convinced of these assessments?

[Volskiy] I do indeed sincerely adhere to this viewpoint. There can be different formulations depending on time but I have always said that an economic "blitzkrieg" for a specific country like Russia is unacceptable.

[Slavin] What are the reasons for the deadlock which our country's economy, and it is not alone, has now entered?

[Volskiy] There are two reasons. The Soviet Union has collapsed, but the main thing is that Russia as it was understood before 1917 has collapsed. This collapse has had catastrophic consequences because for centuries we were built as one large factory. The second reason is that they started the reform from the wrong end. I remember the date of 11 January 1992. I said to Gaydar at the time: Stop and think. He can confirm it. In particular I said that the liberalization of prices announced as of 1 January was the last rung on the ladder in the transition to the market. No construction wprker begins making a staricase with the last step. And so the coincidence of two factors—the collapse of the country and the lightning switch to the market, a switch based on directives and circulars—piled one on top of the other and we are now trying to extricate ourselves from the consequences.

[Slavin] Is the exchange of money not a continuation of the stupid policy connected with the liberalization of prices initiated by Gaydar?

[Volskiy] I would not put it like that. I am not very certain that it is now possible to blame Pavlov or Gaydar after the event, as is being done in the mass media. Kicking a man when he's down is a cheap trick. Of course, one can speak of the incorrect methods of the money exchange, but I see something else. The mass media are trying to reduce everything to one person—Gerashchenko.

[Slavin] And you believe he did not make the decision alone?

[Volskiy] I very much respect Gerashchenko as a specialist, he is a very important banking figure, and the whole world recognizes that. And if the Central Bank is doing something then I am sure that everyone has been informed. At any rate, the government, the president's structures, and the Supreme Soviet leadership knew of it. They should recognize that this exchange was their joint error and not reduce the entire matter to one man. On television B. Fedorov said at length that it was an act of subversion by the Central Bank against the president, that Gerashchenko was to blame, and so forth.

[Slavin] To end the economic theme, what conclusions did you draw? Where have we gotten to in two years of reforms? What is the overall result of the economic policy of the radical democrats' rule?

[Volskiy] The government is trying to persuade us that Russia is in a state of "unsteady equilibrium." In particular B. Fedorov recently asserted that we are approaching the "stabilization of the ruble exchange rate" and so forth. I remember Napoleon's words in this connection: "I can deceive the professors and generals but I will never be able to deceive the Parisienne who goes to the market to buy food every day." That also applies to us. We cannot deceive the Russians who go to the market today, where prices are steadily growing and money is being devalued. All this attests that Russia is steadily moving toward its economic collapse unless we promptly and drastically turn the vector of reform not backward, of course, but in the necessary direction. The Russian dispute now is not a question of renouncing the market but of choosing the best path for advancing toward it.

[Slavin] What in your opinion can help Russia emerge from the crisis on the political plane?

[Volskiy] General elections at all levels of power should be the logical conclusion of the "blitzkrieg."

[Slavin] Is it not with elections that you connect the creation of the Industrial Party which you announced recently?

[Volskiy] Yes! The following events pushed us in this direction. Recently a group of directors came to see me and demanded a meeting. There were 22 of them. We sat talking until 0200 hours. In particular they said to me: "Enough! We lost the last elections since we did not get involved in them. But we do not want to lose and must not lose new elections. Arkadiy Ivanovich, you are constantly reassuring us, saying there is no need to rush. But the situation now is such that we can wait no longer. We have come to the culmination of all social differences. When elections are held is not important, we must be ready for them and for that we need a party. A party which expresses our interests." The leaders of regional branches of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs [RUIE] said exactly the same. I replied: "If that is what you think we will create such a party."

[Slavin] In what strata of society are you seeking support?

[Volskiy] We proceed from the premise that in the present crisis situation we will be able to express the interests of administrative and technical workers,

workers and employees, and even trade unions. All these strata and organizations have a common interest. It is the conservation of our domestic industry and the provision of an acceptable standard of prosperity for people. These strata could become our support, the support of the centrist bloc. In hard times centrism has always helped.

[Slavin] Are you sure these strata will help you?

[Volskiy] I recently returned from Nizhniy Novgorod. There the idea of creating an industrial party was supported by the directors of nearly all the oblast's large plants. I want to stress that previously in this oblast they shared the idea of having no party allegiance. But now they have advocated the creation of a powerful mass-based party.

[Slavin] Arkadiy Ivanovich, explain for me and our newspaper's readers your political position with regard to other parties and movements. You recently stated that you are prepared to form a bloc not only with Zatulin but also with Popov and even Sobchak. Are you not afraid that alliance with the latter will discredit you?

[Volskiy] I put it differently: The leadership of the "Renewal" Union in the shape of A. Vladislavlev held consultations on points on which our views coincide. That is not a bloc, just consultations.

[Slavin] And what was it about them that interested you? They are politicians who have been "in use," to put it mildly. Or did you see some new advances?

[Volskiy] They have made advances. Being a good and eminent economist at the Moscow State University is one thing, being an eminent lawyer in St. Petersburg is another, but experiencing the sewage system in the city and what supplying food for millions of city dwellers means, and so forth is another. People are growing...

[Slavin] Do you mean to say that Popov and Sobchak have been reeducated in practical work?

[Volskiy] It is very difficult to reeducate a person. But they have felt what it is like to be a practical leader. That isn't like holding meetings. They differ from those democrats who are now anathematizing Chernomyrdin for his alleged collusion with the Supreme Soviet.

[Slavin] Do you make a distinction between old and new democrats?

[Volskiy] That distinction is quite interesting. It is not connected with age. You should follow this process. I follow it very closely. You can be displeased with Popov and Sobchak for their old actions but for me today they are more understandable than, for instance, Father Gleb Yakunin, Lev Ponomarev, Galina Starovoytova, and others. (Forgive me, Lord, for taking their names in vain).

[Slavin] Your position is more or less clear with regard to the so-called radical democrats. But what is your attitude toward the present "left-wing" parties, the socialists and Communists?

[Volskiy] You saw our consultations with Popov and Sobchak and did not notice the consultations with Anatoliy Denisov and Lyudmila Vartazarova. We have held consultations with them. We are conducting consultations on the full spectrum of political forces.

[Slavin] Nonetheless, where do you draw the line to the left of center? Are you striving to enlist as many political forces as possible to the center?

[Volskiy] You have grasped the point very precisely. In actual fact we are seeking to enlist to the center as many political forces as possible. We cannot take on only extremists from any side—the right or the left. I do not accept extremism which leads to the collapse of Russia or extremism which calls people onto the streets with submachine guns.

[Slavin] Do you allow the possibility of a coup in Russia?

[Volskiy] I see no social base for a coup although I do not rule out attempts to accomplish a coup by radical extremists.

[Slavin] But surely the hungry, the poor, the homeless on the streets tell you that the social base for dissatisfaction and consequently for a coup exists in society?.

[Volskiy] By coup I mean primarily a coup d'etat. For instance, I am often asked: Could a colonel like Suret Guseynov appear in our country?

[Slavin] And what is your reply?

[Volskiy] You have to look at what he is coming with, how he is coming, and who will stand up for him.

[Slavin] You have involuntarily pushed me toward a question which I have long wanted to ask you. IN particular, what is your attitude toward Geydar Aliyev, who has taken over from the bankrupt leader of the People's Front and today advocates the idea of agreement in Azerbaijan?

[Volskiy] Geydar Aliyev is the leader of one of the largest parts of Azerbaijan—Nakhichevan. He has done a lot to stabilize it. He is an experienced man who once led the entire republic. He knows what should be done and how. He knows where cotton is grown and how it is being harvested. He is quite different from scientific staffer Elchibey. I do not want to make comparisons: Each to his own. But Geydar Aliyev has already gone through all this from his own experience. He has already made advances, in particular the start of a three-day truce with the Armenians. And, of course, the preparation of talks with Karabakh and not "a war to a victorious finish," on whoever's side that might be proclaimed.

[Slavin] One can already trace a kind of natural law: Brazauskas in Lithuania, Geydar Aliyev in Azerbaijan...

[Volskiy] Do not forget Shevardnadze.

[Slavin] But he has not yet led Georgia out of crisis.

[Volskiy] No. The agreement signed with Abkhazia, the withdrawal of Georgian troops from Abkhazia are a manifestation of courage and wisdom on his part.

[Slavin] Very well, let us add Shevardnadze to the list. Although I have great doubts regarding him.

[Volskiy] You are speaking of his personality.

[Slavin] I agree. Let us not say anything more about him. Let us talk about the natural law which can be traced in the accession of former CPSU leaders to the management of the republic. Is that not a departure from the extremes whereby people have tried the negative aspect of partycratic procedures and the misrule of the so-called democrats and decided to abandon both, putting centrist figures in power? Could something similar happen in RUssia? Do you connect such instances with Russia?

[Volskiy] I do not merely connect them, I preach it.

[Slavin] Thank you for the brevity and clarity of your answer. A few more questions from the field of domestic policy. Let us suppose you and your Industrial Party come to power. On what will you build your policy? On the idea of consensus or confrontation with those who think differently? Will you begin or end the "witch hunt" and the sticking of labels like "red-brown," "lumpen," and so forth? That is, everything which is practised in our country today?

[Volskiy] For a start I shall say that I myself have experienced all this. So it would be absurd if I were to implement such a policy. Or even to think of it. Open the press from last year and the year before that—they called me nothing other than a "party apparatchik."

[Slavin] I have heard that you were once sought out as a worker of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Volskiy] I was sought and interrogated and summoned to the Constitutional Court. I spoke for six hours at the Constitutional Court on the CPSU case. I repeat, I have experienced it all. But I think that today society is leaving this behind. Incidentally, I am convinced that at some stage the president has, thank god, abandoned the idea of seeking out enemies. The appointment of O. Lobov, O. Soskovets, and so forth is evidence of that.

[Slavin] In early March he said something similar to me. In particular he stated that talk about the "red-browns" was now "in the past." But later, if you remember, there was 20 March. Then there appeared words about the "hydra of communism" uttered before he left for America. It is true that to be objective it should be said that at the end of the constitutional conference he again started to talk about consensus. Well, let us wait and see.

[Volskiy] You know, tactic and strategy are different things. So far I cannot see the president undertaking any actions which could be described as a "witch hunt." As for his entourage, there are calls for a witch hunt from them. Unless the president purges himself of such people they will continue to discredit him. There should be no "witch hunt," whether it is representatives of the CPSU or the Russian Communist Workers Party, Dunayev or Barannikov. Attempts of this kind merely expose the president, causing him enormous harm.

[Slavin] Politics are a large-scale game. In this connection allow me to ask you a direct question: Are you not trying today to draw the president over to your side? And in turn is the president not trying to use you in his own interests?

[Volskiy] Well, I think that you are trying to draw someone to your side. Everyone tries to draw the powers that be (not a persona, of course, but a group) to their side. The terms on which this is done and the purposes for which it is done is another question. In particular, what terms can be accepted by a president elected by the people?

[Slavin] By one third of the population, to be more precise.

[Volskiy] Whatever the proportion there is a law on elections and we must be law-abiding at least.

[Slavin] At the session of the "Renewal" union leadership you expressed yourself in favor of the need to nominate a nationwide figure at the future elections. Who did you have in mind, apart from yourself?

[Volskiy] You are right to exclude me. I am profoundly nauseated that already 16 people have announced their desire to run for president. And I do not know whether this can be done at all right now, whether this is not shameless bragging. I for one am shocked by Burbulis' statement in St. Petersburg and his Moscow statements that we have sided with a bloc, but not the government bloc, we will also think about the president, and so forth. I do not understand that. A man who received everything from the president is making such statements. Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray is also creating his own party, which I think is also not in support of the present president, and so forth. I would say to the president's former supporters: "You have begun to share out the legacy too soon!"

[Slavin] A few questions connected with foreign policy. How do you assess the U.S. attitude toward Russia in connection with Ukraine? I form the impression that the United States is implementing a divide and rule strategy.

[Volskiy] Any great power must "rule." But I would not advise anyone to "divide." U.S. Secretary of State Aspin's recent trip to Ukraine, where he said that nuclear weapons should remain in Ukraine, under international control it is true, were a sensation. I want to state officially that such statements will not benefit the United

States, they will generate anti-American feelings in Russia. Who gains from that?

[Slavin] They say that after his trip to Russia Nixon suggested changing U.S. strategy with regard to China. To renounce the former strategy of "with China against Russia" and to begin to implement the idea of "with Russia against China." The United States understands very well that China's development rates are faster than Japan's, that in 20 years it will have to deal with a mighty new superpower of the communist type.

[Volskiy] I am not very certain that Nixon has such political clout that he can substantially influence U.S. strategic policy. I want to say in this connection that Russian foreign policy with regard to China needs to be changed. That is the main thing. An independent foreign policy.

[Slavin] Where do you see these changes?

[Volskiy] China has been able to feed 1.2 billion people, to fill the whole world with its output, it exports goods worth $130 billion a year, while we export goods worth only $37 billion. We must make a deep study of the Chinese experience of reforms. Gaydar did not want to do that. At the same time the Chinese have resolved four very important problems: They have carried out an effective reform in agriculture; with the aid of state subsidies they have supported medium and small business, which now provides about 60 percent of commodity output; they are preserving a normal living standard for the entire population, and they have political stability in the country. Who will have a bad time if we achieve the same thing? As soon as I mentioned this a year ago, what a din was raised in the press! Articles in newspapers with enormous headlines: "China is not Russia, Volskiy is not Deng Xiaoping." I admitted honestly that I am not Deng Xiaoping. But now, using RUIE funds, we are preparing a trip for 10 journalists to the PRC to study its experience. We also invite PRAVDA.

## Government Office Analyzes Shape of Economy

*PM1008111993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition pp 1, 2*

[Unattributed article: "The Contours of Russia's New Economy"]

[Text] The country is switching to market relations with a vengeance. Such is the conclusion which can be drawn from an analysis carried out by the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government Center for Economic Conditions.

The contours of Russia's new economy have continued to take shape in 1993:

—the nonstate sector of the economy, employing around 30 million people, or 40 percent of the working population, is starting to play an increasingly major role;

—as a result of the removal of direct administrative control, most state enterprises and collective farms are operating under conditions requiring adaptation to market conditions;

—at federal level restrictions on pricing have to all intents and purposes been lifted, and price levels are formed to a significant degree under the influence of supply and demand;

—a new tax system is operational, within which value-added tax is becoming an increasingly stable source of income for the state;

—there is a single ruble rate, determined by the currency market, which testifies to its partial convertibility;

—the quantity of fixed capital in private ownership is increasing—the number of privatized apartments hit 6.3 million, or 19 percent of the total number of those liable for privatization;

—as of September 1992 the process of distributing privatization checks and floating state enterprises began, which is creating the preconditions for the formation of a share market.

The consumer market, almost completely destroyed by the end of 1991, has been restored and is operating vigorously. Commodity supply broadened significantly, and the physical volume of trade is constantly increasing;

—there is no shortage in the trade network of output of production and technical significance, barter has to all intents and purposes been ousted, and interrelations between enterprises are being formed to a greater and greater extent on a normal economic basis;

—despite all the state budget problems, the financial situation of enterprises cannot be evaluated as catastrophic. In the first six months of this year alone, the net increase in currency resources in enterprise accounts is estimated to be $7.8 billion. In total, there are more than $14 billion in enterprise accounts and commercial banks. The net increase of Central Bank currency reserves during this period came to over $2 billion.

Since last fall, there has been practically no fall in average daily industrial production volumes.

Likewise, in the second quarter of this year, volumes of capital investments remained constant, and the decline in the population's living standards halted.

Throughout these six months inflation rates slowed: Although it reached 25 percent in January, by June it

stood at around 17 percent. However, it is too early to draw conclusions about any radical changes in the level of inflation.

Comparing price dynamics for food products in the period from February through June in 1992 and 1993, it can be noted that prices for foodstuffs rose in the stated five-month period of this year by 140 percent, or by 50 percentage points more than in the corresponding period last year.

The results of price regulation did not confirm the effectiveness of such measures in influencing prices. Only in January 1992 were radically different rates of price increase for food products subject to regulated or free prices noted (increasing by a factor of 190 and 350 percent respectively). In the remaining 11 months of last year, the price dynamics for these two groups of foodstuffs were roughly the same.

In the first six months of 1993, prices for goods subject to price regulation rose faster than for goods being sold at free prices.

In conditions of a continued slump in production and high inflation rates, a tangible **stabilization of the population's living standards** in the first half of 1993 can be noted.

In the period from January through June 1993, the population's living standards dropped by no more than between 1 and 3 percent on average by comparison with the first six months of 1992.

During the first six months, the processes of social differentiation progressed as intensively as before. The rate of increase in the incomes of the highest-earning 10 percent of the population was by far the fastest. The per capita income gap between the wealthiest 10 percent and the poorest 10 percent of the population in March 1993 stood at a multiple of 8.4, while in June this figure exceeded nine.

The "erosion" of the middle strata continues, with mainly least-affluent groups swelling at its expense.

Despite a constant rise in social benefits, there remains in the country a stratum of the population whose material position can be viewed as poverty.

To a large extent, the alteration in the population's living standards is defined by the condition and development of the consumer market.

At the beginning of 1992, there was a relative normalization of the situation in the trade sector and the stores were fairly well stocked with goods. Whereas in the first half of last year the coefficient for the level of availability [nalichiye] in the retail trade sector remained roughly at a level of 50 percent for food products and 70 percent for nonfood products, this year these figures are 60 and 80 percent respectively.

When industrial production volumes fall but industrial production manpower falls more slowly, this also signifies a fall in labor productivity. In the first quarter of 1993, labor productivity in industry fell by 14 percent.

An extremely **inefficient structure of employment of the population** took shape in the economy over many years.

A high level of involvement of the population in the national economy (84 percent of labor resources in 1992) combines with fairly low levels in training [ucheba] (6 percent of labor resources) and in work in the home (4 percent of labor resources.)

The sluggishness [nedostatochnaya aktivnost] of institutional change and the structural overhaul of the economy determines the specific condition of Russia's labor market—a combination of large-scale hidden unemployment and low-level official unemployment figures. As of 1 June 1993, unemployment stood at 0.87 percent in all.

Low labor efficiency and the lack of real incentives to liberate superfluous manpower have led to an accumulation of hidden unemployment at enterprises, currently estimated at between 7 and 9 million people, or 8-11 percent of the able-bodied population. Its pressure at such a scale on the country's economy can be compared with the so-called inflationary overhang [naves] of the end of 1991.

The situation which emerged in the Russian economy in the first six months of 1993 cannot be depicted in simple evaluations: alongside the general crisis, positive trends are evident. But one thing is perfectly clear—the country is switching to market relations with a vengeance, and this road brings not only many problems but also the preconditions for solving them.

## Military & Space Issues

### Yeltsin Orders Establishment of Chemical Arms Commission

*LD1008105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1051 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow August 10 TASS—In order to ensure the fulfillment of Russia's international commitments to destroy chemical weapons, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has ordered the Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation to set up within a period of one month a government commission to select grounds for siting installations to destroy chemical weapons on Russian territory, the press service of the Russian President reported today.

The order stipulates in particular that in keeping with the Russian legislation installations to destroy chemical weapons should be sited in areas indicated by the above-mentioned commission and approved by the Russian president.

## Disposing Submarines' Spent Nuclear Fuel Viewed

*LD0908211193*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1325 GMT on 6 August carries part two of the "Against Nuclear Threat" program, a 28-minute report on what is being done with spent nuclear fuel from nuclear submarines. Reception is good.

The broadcast begins with archival, circa 1961, newsreel footage on the ill-fated launching of the nuclear-powered K-19 submarine, with video extolling the virtues and the safety of the vessel.

Next seen are several retired Navy captains describing reactor malfunctions and heroic crew efforts to contain the damage. Video shows close-ups of the sailors' graves. The report notes that some sailors were subjected to as much as 1,800 roentgens. Commentary notes that the K-19 disaster was a warning of things to come of the Chernobyl incident.

At this point in the program, the K-19s commander, Captain N. Zateyev, recalls how he had to wait for 12 hours for permission to evacuate the crew. Zateyev notes that he never received permission and took the decision himself, adding that for the next decade apparatchiks tried to get him court-marshalled, to no avail. The entire crew of 139 was diagnosed as having been irradiated. The diagnosis is kept in the archives of the Navy medical directorate.

The program continues with an unidentified voice-over stating that the K-19 accident was hardly an isolated incident in the Navy's history. The first Soviet nuclear sub was launched in the Northern Machine-Building Enterprise in Severodvinsk in 1957. On 12 February 1965, during unloading of the core from a K-11 sub in Severodvinsk, the reactor went out of control. After a fire, the reactor section was sunk and 350 tonnes of water became radioactive in the port.

Although new reactors were installed on board the K-11 and K-19 subs, five years later there was a similar accident at the Krasnoye Sormovo Shipbuilding Works in Gorkiy, now Nizhniy Novgorod. A spontaneous reactor start-up on board a submarine under construction caused a discharge and a fire, although there has been no official information about this to date. The video shows various submarines berthed in port and on the dockside, man measuring radiation levels.

The program then continues with interviews with ex-submarine commanders, Yuriy Kasatkin, Commander of an unidentified submarine division and L. Salnikov, Commander of the White Sea Naval Flotilla. They recall another reactor accident at the Pacific Fleet overhaul works in Shkotovo-22 on 10 August 1985, in which the entire reactor exploded, polluting a huge territory. The report links this thermal explosion to the Chernobyl tragedy, but, eight years hence, the fate of the sub involved has still not been decided and it still contains nuclear fuel.

At this point the program narrator recalls another accident which took place on board the K-27 submarine of the Northern Fleet on 24 May 1968. The sub had two reactors, using lead and bismuth as the coolant. Five sailors died while the crippled sub was on its way to its base. Many crew members were irradiated. Military specialists tried to have the sub re-commissioned, unsuccessfully. Finally, scientists from the Physical Engineering Institute at Obninsk near Moscow decided to have the sub towed to Novaya Zemlya and to have it sunk at Stepovogo Bay. The narrator notes that the nuclear fuel has never been unloaded. Video shows rocky snow-covered terrain and the sea.

The narrator then states that this method has become the Navy's procedure: to sink nuclear waste and old reactors in the sea. In 1965-1966, the reactors of the K-10 and K-11 nuclear subs were sunk at Novaya Zemlya in Abrosimova Bay.

The video next shows various subs and the icebreaker Arktika. The narrator states in general terms that as more and more nuclear vessels were built, more and more nuclear waste was dumped at Novaya Zemlya. All in all, the Navy lost three subs with five atomic reactors and 33 nuclear warheads on strategic missiles and torpedoes.

Next, the video briefly shows a map with a radiation warning symbol pinned near Severodvinsk in the region of Solovetskiye Islands. It is a problem to raise such vessels and another to know what to do with them, once salvaged. Existing facilities are unable to cope with reprocessing of nuclear waste. Storage facilities are full to overflowing and many are in very poor shape. Video shows radiation measuring equipment registering radiation at what looks like a dilapidated storage facility.

The program continues, noting that submarines which have been grounded are a problem. This year some 100 subs are to be grounded. L. Salnikov, Commander of the White Sea Naval Flotilla says that weapons are removed from such subs, but the problem is what to do with the nuclear waste and reactors. Video shows such subs being dismantled. Existing storage facilities are woefully inadequate and subs have to wait up to ten years to be rendered safe.

At this point, Yuriy Kasatkin, commander of a submarine division, notes that the issue of the useful life of reactors and bodies of subs has not been looked into, to say nothing of having to maintain the various systems needed to keep it afloat and protect it from fire and so forth. Video shows a sub, parts of which appear seaworn and/or corroded.

The next segment shows the Severodvinsk Machine-Building Enterprise Zvezdochka, which the narrator notes was constructed in the mid-1950s and kept secret.

Nuclear subs used to be overhauled and modernized there. Now submarine silos are dismantled there, but the Enterprise is owed a lot of money. Commander Salnikov complains that once electricity supplies were cut, because of unpaid debts.

Salnikov states that the dangers in this are obvious. Video shows missile-shaped container-like structure being transloaded, as V. Roslyakov, Deputy Chairman of Severodvinsk Town Council complains of the dangerous operations under way near to the town and recalls the councillors' ban on same, of which Khasbulatov and Chernomyrdin were informed in May this year. Commander Salnikov complains that no one ever spared a thought about what to do with spent fuel.

Salnikov continues, noting that both Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin have visited Severodvinsk. Everyone agreed that a new program must be developed and that money must be made available, otherwise, the potential cost should exceed the initial outlay many times over, as demonstrated by Chernobyl.

At this point in the program, more archival footage of Soviet naval vessels shown. The narrator recalls that the ill-fated K-19 sub was repaired, but a fire on board in 1972 claimed another 28 lives. It was restored yet again, but has for several years now been waiting its turn to be dismantled at Polyarnyy. In the Navy, the K-19 is known as "Hiroshima." At this point an unidentified voice-over is heard stating that Hiroshima is still alive, concludes the voice-over, concluding the show.

### Defense Ministry Proposes 15 Billion Rubles for Conversion

*LD1008030193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Russia's Defense Ministry has proposed that some 15 billion rubles be allocated for implementation of the federal conversion program at enterprises outside Moscow in the military industrial complex. As RIA reports, favorable credits are likely to be granted for periods of between one and three years.

### Servicemen Protection Conference Opens in Moscow

*LD0908113893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti newscast"]

[Text] The all-Russian conference on urgent measures to ensure that state authorities carry out Russian Federation laws on the social protection of servicemen and their families opened in the capital this morning. People's deputies, government members, and representatives of the Armed Forces and of local soviets and administrations are taking part in it.

[Correspondent V. Martynov] Sailors from Severomorsk [near Murmansk] have cabled: We haven't received wages for three months and have been forced to sell personal possessions, just as during the war. This and other alarming cables were read out at the all-Russian conference devoted to the implementation of laws on military matters and on the social protection of servicemen, which opened in the House of Soviets in Moscow today. We even have a similar report from the [Far Eastern] island of Russkiy, where order ought to have been established following the recent discovery of criminal activities.

It was pointed out at the conference that for some reason people's deputies make more frequent visits to the Western Group of Forces in Germany, while they are hardly ever seen at garrisons in the Russian interior, which have been forsaken by God and man alike. In connection with the shortage of manpower in the republic's Armed Forces, it was stressed that throughout the country 20,000 men ignored their call-up in spring 1993 alone.

High-ranking guests did not turn up at the conference. In the morning, at least, there was no sign in the hall of Ruslan Khasbulatov, Valentin Stepankov, Pavel Grachev, Viktor Yerin, or Acting Security Minister Nikolay Golushko, who had all been invited. It would be interesting to know whether this is related to the words of Supreme Soviet Committee Chairman Aleksandr Korovnikov: The people of Russia need real deeds, not political inquiries.

The conference will be in session today and tomorrow.

[Moscow Radio Rossii in Russian at 1000 GMT on 9 August reports: "A two-day all-Russian conference on social protection of servicemen and their families, organized by the Supreme Soviet, has opened in the capital. Ruslan Khasbulatov was unable to attend the forum because he has a cold."]

### Korovnikov, Kobets Address Conference

*LD0908213693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1222 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug—"A federal program of social protection of servicemen and members of their families is needed. It should unite the efforts of the president, parliament, and the government in resolving the problems affecting the interests of millions of Russians," Aleksandr Korovnikov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee dealing with these problems, has stated. He was speaking today at the All-Russian Conference on the social protection of servicemen and members of their families. Taking part in it are parliamentarians, members of the government, representatives of the armed forces, local soviets, and administrations.

The federal program, in Korovnikov's opinion, should help provide employment for hundreds of thousands of

servicemen released into the reserve and not possessing civilian specialist training. He said there was especial alarm about the hasty and not fully thought-out withdrawal of Russian troops from abroad. In two-and-a-half years more than 350,000 servicemen had been withdrawn from the Western Group of forces [Germany]. There had been handed over to the German side 1,280 buildings, 80,000 square meters of housing floor space, 546 military camps, and 39 airfields with a total value of 10.5 billion [currency not specified]. In Russia two military camps had been built for the troops being withdrawn and five were in the completion stage.

"The Army is in trouble primarily owing to insufficient financing," Konstantin Kobets, Russian Federation deputy defense minister stressed. The Finance Ministry owed the War Department as at 1 August more than 1.5 trillion rubles. "More than 60 percent of servicemen have not received their pay for July. In many units and subunits they have not received it for June. People are refusing to carry out their duties including alert duty." The lack of material funds makes it impossible to provide the majority of benefits enshrined in the military package of laws, in particular housing, the provision of plots of land, and payment for essential services. He said an extremely alarming situation had taken shape with regard to supply of fuel to troops, provision of food and other goods, and electricity supplies to military camps. All this aggravated the social tension in the Russian Army.

Yevgeniy Lisov, first deputy procurator general of the Russian Federation said that in a number of military districts breaches of the rights of those serving had been revealed. In particular, in Tbilisi no investigations were being conducted into cases of murder of servicemen and many families had been removed from their apartments. If Russia continued to keep its military units in other states, it was necessary to reach agreement on what basis this was done. There are no such treaties with former union republics as of yet, Yevgeniy Lisov said. He said there was alarm at the indifferent attitude in society and the state toward breaches in the Army, even breaches such as plundering of strategic raw material and collective refusal to carry out an order.

### 'Several Thousand Crimes' Committed in Armed Forces

*LD0908183793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Several thousand crimes have been committed during the course of this year in the Russian Army and Navy. More than 4,000 officers have been brought to account for breaching relations with subordinates. A procuracy spokesman noted in this regard, that the main cause for concern lay in the indifferent attitude in society, and in the state toward violations in the Armed Forces. Clearly there is still a long way to removing the causes, as the politicians, also drawing in the mass media, are mainly engaged in their own political fighting.

### Underfunding, Mismanagement Threaten Space Sector Shutdown

*PM0908123193 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 23, 6 Aug 93 (signed to press 5 Aug 93) p 2*

[POSTFACTUM report: "Space Industry Could Cease To Exist"]

[Text] Yuriy Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency, addressed Russian Federation Supreme Soviet parliamentary hearings 3 August. He reported that the space sector is currently in a very difficult position. Only 31 percent of the funds planned for 1993 have been allocated, and in any case they have not been indexed. Some 34 percent of the "eggheads"—candidates of sciences, scientists, and specialists—have already left the space industry. The average salary in the sector is 19,632 rubles [R]. Whereas in 1990 defense orders accounted for 65 percent of business and civil orders for 35 percent, nowadays civil orders account for 66.3 percent.

According to Koptev's information, the main engine plants are on the brink of shutting down. The Russian space industry could cease to exist within the next 18 months to two years if this attitude toward the sector persists. According to his information, interest in and attention to the sector peaked in 1989, when it was allocated R6.9 billion. He also reported that commercial nonbudgetary sources from Russian commercial structures are not currently proving worthwhile. As soon as commercial structures reach the point of making a real investment, they admit that they are unable to finance the space industry.

According to Koptev, nobody in the space services market today is waiting for Russia, but we continue to be strong when it comes to manned programs. Fortunately, these programs have not been halted, and Russia remains the only country able to offer services in this sphere. Koptev called for the sector to be treated as a national asset. As he put it, space sectors worldwide rely on state subsidies 90 percent of the time. But Russia has essentially left itself totally unprotected. In his opinion, if Russia had not made the crudest blunders in its reforms, it would currently have had 20-25 percent of the total world commercial market for space services and sales.

## Regional Affairs

### Khasbulatov Speech at Kursk Jubilee in Belgorod

*PM1008094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 3*

["The Battle For Russia. Speech By Ruslan Khasbulatov in Belgorod"—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA headline]

[Text] Dear comrades, friends!

Dear guests here to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Kursk and the liberation of the Belgorod area!

Permit me to congratulate you on this great festival in our peoples' lives—the 50th anniversary of the victory at the Salient of Fire. This victory was one of the most important battles of World War II, and it finally marked the defeat of fascism and the victory of our country and the peoples of Europe.

For our Fatherland the victory at Kursk ranks alongside such deliverances as the victories at Lake Chudskoye, Kulikovo, and Borodino. In the summer of 1943 an amazed world saw rise up before its eyes a great power capable of defending not only itself but world civilization too. Our country's leading role has been recognized by all honest people around the world. The Western powers took a new look at the place and role of our country in the destiny of the world community, recognized it as a leading world force, and stepped up their cooperation to end the war.

We realize that the efforts of all the peoples of the Union and all citizens at the front and in the rear were part of the Kursk victory. But the heaviest burden was born by its participants. They set new standards in military heroism, courage, military strategy, and combat skill. They deserve eternal glory and deep respect for that.

Like any great historical event, the Battle of Kursk helps to strengthen the Russian people's moral spirit and to elaborate an action program for these difficult years. The experience of that time can teach us a lot.

First, this experience shows that when times are hard, an effective political leadership is one which is able to analyze the course of events, learn from its mistakes, failures, and defeats, and look the truth square in the eye. After all, the Battle of Kursk was preceded by more than two years of colossal losses, blunders, and crises to which there had seemed no end. And, at the same time, there was a tireless search for a way to break out of this situation and find any way to seize the initiative. Ultimately this bore fruit. Under the most difficult conditions in two years of war it was possible to focus all of the economic, scientific, technical, spiritual, and military abilities of the society and the state to inflict a fatal blow on the enemy and launch through to the end of the war an offensive that was unprecedented in its scale.

A similar focusing of energy is today being required of the people to get out of the crisis that threatens to destroy our Fatherland. Unfortunately, current politicians lack the wisdom, self-criticism, or the ability to draw up a correct policy corresponding to Russia's fundamental interests, to grasp the genuine interests of the people, and to act on that basis in their domestic, foreign, or defense policies.

Second, the victory in the Battle of Kursk and in the Patriotic War as a whole was achieved thanks to the people's cohesion around clear and understandable goals. People's consolidation was based on the ideas, dear to all, of patriotism and saving the Fatherland.

These same ideas should be the basis for civil consensus today as well. People will never by unified by the ideas of social division, the unjust enrichment of a minority at the expense of the majority, or the disunity of the peoples.

Third, we coped with the grave trials of the war because we believed in our strength and relied above all on the material and spiritual potential of our country. This was what generated the respect for us and the desire to cooperate with us. This was what strengthened our state's international positions. It was after the victory at the Battle of Kursk that the Moscow and Tehran conferences of the allies were held and the decision to open a second front was accelerated.

Once again we can draw the comparison with today's situation. The gamble on solving the problems of getting Russia out of crisis primarily with Western help is sapping our internal strength and the people's energy and making the country dependent on other states which are not rushing to help us under these circumstances and will not do so either. And why should then? Who needs a strong Russia? Nobody but us.

There are other lessons to be learned from the Great Patriotic War. It reaffirmed the immense life-giving strength and effectiveness of the soviets as organs of people's power. In today's new Russia they are not only maintaining their influence on all aspects of our life but with every passing day are becoming the reliable guarantors of democracy and the defenders of the interests of the bulk of the population.

While paying my respects to our people's heroic achievement in the Great Patriotic War, I would like to particularly emphasize the groundlessness of the attempts to belittle it. No demagogues will succeed in robbing the people of its great victory.

In noting the landmark anniversaries of the Great Patriotic War I think we should take a broader look at the achievements of older generations and at our responsibility for preserving and developing what they accomplished. To this end we need to have a clearer idea of the importance of the Great Patriotic War within the context of the main processes of the 20th century. It was a victory for common sense over the forces of world evil. It preserved the way of life of different peoples in the face of the threat of the totalitarian unification of the world. It was a triumph for the choice of a just way of life. It saved democracy in the worldwide development of this process.

Today we are witnessing the formation before our very eyes of a new experience in social organization based on a multifaceted mixed economy and a pluralism of opinions and goals. There is growing contradiction between the interests of social groups. We need to resolve jointly

and in a civilized way the questions that arise, consulting with each other and not rushing matters. We need to help objective trends make headway, and to find the combination of forces that will promote their implementation.

Unfortunately, there are influential political forces which, instead of finding an ethical legal solution to the deep-seated conflicts which inevitably arise, would like to resolve them through a confrontation between power structures, and to descend to the level of palace intrigues, squabbles, and scandals between the executive, the judiciary, and the representative authorities.

This is also being actively promoted by the "independent" mass media, which are literally controlled by ultraradicals who disdain the discarded standards of democracy and human morality.

The aim of these maneuvers is quite simple—on the one hand, to distract the attention of the broad masses of the population from the fact that urgent problems are not being solved and are even being exacerbated as a result of the policy and specific actions of specific individuals. On the other, in a tough confrontational struggle people are again trying to impose a unanimity of view on society and to turn senior officials into lackeys rather than servants of the law.

But this is a dead end. The more the clashes that arise in society are covered up by sound effects and sugary promises, the more unexpected and destructive the discharge of the present prestorm situation may be.

People are tired of the continual deterioration in their lives, the increase in inflation, the decline of moral foundations, the incessant political confrontation, the incessant humiliation of the country in international affairs, and the fall in its prestige as a result of the actions of self-styled politicians and amateurish diplomats.

During my stay in various regions of the country people constantly ask—when will there be an improvement? When will the situation change for the better? When will the authorities tackle the most important thing—people's living conditions and the economy?

As chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet I am also alarmed by these questions. I am experiencing the same torments as all of you and the majority of my Supreme Soviet colleagues, and I am striving to do everything I can to give people faith in a better future and to believe in their own efforts. All the means of resolving our problems do not lie elsewhere [za okeanom] but in ourselves, in our country. We need to rely firmly on the people, we need to strive to find sources of strength and wisdom in our people.

In today's conditions the Russian parliament, the representative power as the power emanating from the people, is the guarantor of progress and democracy. It is parliament that represents the whole spectrum of political forces and interests in Russian society. And, despite its youth, it has gleaned considerable experience of finding ways to preserve social peace in the most difficult of situations.

The Supreme Soviet objectively cannot be a source of confrontation. By nature it is a collegial organ, which reflects the interests of the people and collectively, sometimes agonizingly, elaborates the means of stabilizing the economy, politics, and social life. It works publicly, openly, and has the task of effecting control of the executive—that is the law, that is the Constitution. And no one can be exempt from the control of the law, from the control exercised by the Supreme Soviet.

The fact that, as an organ of state power, the Supreme Soviet is inconvenient for the executive is another matter. And there is nothing surprising in that. That kind of "inconvenience" exists throughout the world. But the executive by nature should ensure the implementation of the laws and be clearly guided by the directives of the legislature. Otherwise there is no state. Otherwise there is the opposition and the confrontation which have already done us tremendous harm.

You would have thought it hard to imagine that we could have lost over 40 percent of our production in just over three years (taking 1989 as a point of departure). The most terrible years of the war and natural disaster could not previously achieve that. It is after all a question of destroying potential that has taken decades and many generations of Russian citizens to build up, the potential of a country that stood on an equal footing with the strongest power in the world. The military-political equilibrium in the world has now been upset—and that is dangerous for the preservation of peace itself. And we have no right to ignore that aspect of the new geopolitical reality. But once again someone benefits from diverting public opinion from this problem.

The most disquieting thing is that no constructive traits of a new economy are so far emerging from the phase of destruction, no "centers of growth" can be seen, and levels of progress and new technologies that the country had previously won are being lost, supplanted by an attempt to survive merely through raw-material dumping. The military-industrial complex has been destroyed, posing a real threat to the Armed Forces' ability to perform their function of defending the Fatherland and the interests of our allies, and perform their role as an instrument of political diplomacy.

The Supreme Soviet has done plenty to amend the government's course.

We have succeeded in formulating a concept to amend this course, a concept that was proposed to the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies and clearly articulated by the Seventh Congress.

Under pressure from the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet the government has been renewed with people who are familiar with the practice of government not only in abstract theoretical terms.

By decision of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies the elaboration has begun of a mechanism for securing nationwide economic consensus. There are reassuring results from the work of the "roundtable" and the All-Russia Economic Conference that has just been held.

We will continue to pursue our quest along this path. More discussion, the perfecting of a joint economic reform program, and a "conciliation" congress on economic questions lie ahead.

But, needless to say, the consensus that we want to secure, for which we are fighting, must be based on an objective, constitutional foundation. I firmly want to tell the participants in today's ceremony that the Russian Supreme Soviet will not repeat the mistakes made by the Union parliament, which in its time lost its decision-making autonomy, capitulated before the executive, and began to attune itself to the opinion of a single individual. The result is well known—the collapse of the powerful Union state. We, the Supreme Soviet, will not allow the Russian state to be brought down by any conferences—Constitutional, Constituent, or whatever it is called.

We will not allow that. Despite the very complex conditions in which it is working and the incredible hounding in the press, the Supreme Soviet will be guided by the Constitution and the Constitution alone. We will defend the Constitution and thus rescue Russia. And we will not turn aside from that path.

The Supreme Soviet will be firm and unshakable in upholding the basic principles of the Constitution and loyalty to the law.

At the same time I once again state our readiness "to sit down at the same table," to put aside the sides' seemingly irreconcilable political postulates of the given moment, and to focus attention on implementing jointly formulated principles of economic consensus by transforming them into a system of concrete agreements.

We are in favor of constructive cooperation, of seeking solutions to the critical economic situation together with the government, and of coordinated actions in the interests of our society.

I can say with confidence that Russia has a great future. We cannot for long tolerate a situation whereby productive forces are collapsing, production is falling, and people's standard of living is dropping.

But in order to move forward it is necessary to change the methods used to implement reforms and the methods used to control the economy. It is necessary to realize that civilized forms of management will bear fruit. What does that mean? Not the expropriation of property, but a sensible, well-considered approach, and consideration for the interests of each and every member of our society.

By relying on these methods of leadership we will be able to boost production. We have everything to be able to do that: Priceless scientific potential, the requisite natural resources, developed productive forces, and splendid patient people who are not demanding anything special. All that taken together will enable Russia to escape from the profound crisis by relying primarily on its own efforts.

Naturally, reliance on our own efforts does not mean isolation from the world community. We must cooperate with other countries. I stress that we must cooperate on a mutually beneficial basis. We must stop going around the world with outstretched hand.

Now a word about one very important economic problem which emerged clearly during our discussions and debates in Orel Oblast. An analysis of the economy of Russia's central oblasts shows that their development, particularly in rural areas, shows an intolerable laggardness. A situation is taking shape whereby the vast expanses of Central Russia remain unassimilated.

At the same time there are now over 25 million of our fellow citizens living outside Russia. Their living conditions have in a number of areas proved simply unbearable. They are striving to return to Russia but are encountering many difficulties and problems.

In these conditions a situation is taking shape whereby we are on the one hand obliged to help people come to Russia and, on the other, on the basis of the great influx of manpower, to speed up the revival of the Russian countryside, nation, culture, spirituality, and traditions. Preconditions have been created for the formation of a "stability belt" based on the central oblasts. Here is the source of revival. There is talk of creating a Central Russian Association. The association could start the work of setting up specialized funds—for the development of Central Russia. An investment fund. An international development fund. A special fund for the rehabilitation (or restoration) of the countryside. The Russian Supreme Soviet, as well as they oblast soviets and administrations of this region, could become the founders of these funds.

I think that we will over the next few days convene a special conference at the Supreme Soviet involving the leaders of these regions' soviets and administrations to discuss these problems in detail and adopt a decision.

On the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Kursk, mindful of Russia's future, one cannot help but speak of the need to ensure our state's security. Of course, we are living in new conditions, in a post-cold war situation. However, the geopolitical situation has by no means become simpler. It has on the contrary become more complex, unpredictable, and no less dangerous. Events in the Balkans, the Arab world, the Caucasus, and in Tajikistan provide graphic confirmation of that.

Today attention to military organizational development, reform of the Army and Navy, and soldiers' needs must

be stepped up. It is important to do everything we can to ensure that the defenders of our Fatherland have everything they need to do their military duty.

War and labor veterans are called upon to play a tremendous role in the solution of our tasks—for they are all bearers of priceless experience and worldly wisdom. They are the nation's gold reserve. They are Russia's pride. They are our mentors and teachers.

It is all the more intolerable to hear the words of some high-ranking politicians regarding the doomed nature of the country's older generation and to ignore the attempts to bar it from vigorous activity. It is our duty, our outright duty to do everything necessary to ensure that veterans not only have the benefits they have earned but also to create all the conditions for them to take an active part in constructive activity.

In conclusion allow me on behalf of the Supreme Soviet and myself personally cordially to congratulate you on this wonderful date—the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Kursk. I am convinced that time cannot erase the greatness of the feat performed by our soldiers and all the peoples of Russia and the Union, who were able to stand firm in that most brutal clash with fascism.

I congratulate you on this splendid anniversary—the 50th anniversary of victory in the battle of Kursk and the liberation of the Belgorod region.

### Gaydar Visits Tambov Region; Views Economy

*PM0908164993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 First Edition p 1*

[Yevgeniy Pisarev report under "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "Gaydar Not Losing Optimism"]

[Text] The formation of a reformist election bloc, the coordination of the positions of local democrats with the emergent "Russia's Choice" bloc—this is how it is possible briefly to define the purpose of the visit to Tambov of Yegor Gaydar, former Russian head of government.

He met with representatives of parties and movements and with private farmers and entrepreneurs, when he expounded his view on the present state of our economy—a view which is, on the whole, quite optimistic.

### Rutskoy Visits Bryansk Machine-Building Plant

*LD0908130393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1114 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Artyushin]

[Text] Bryansk August 9 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who arrived in Bryansk on Sunday, visited the local machine-building plant on Monday, where he had a circumstantial conversation with the managers of the city's major enterprises.

The vice-president later met deputies of the regional, city and district councils, the heads of executive structures and representatives of public organisations to expound his views of economic reform in Russia and his vision for the same.

Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy is expected to leave for Smolensk on Tuesday afternoon.

### Mordovian President To Sue Khasbulatov

*LD1008081593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[Text] Mordovia's President Vasiliy Guslyannikov will bring action against Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov. This is reported from Saransk by our correspondent Anton Antonov.

Guslyannikov believes that Khasbulatov, in his article in the 15 May issue of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, damaged the honor and dignity of Mordovia's president. He is demanding a payment of 10 million rubles as compensation for the damage. Mordovia's president believes that the publication in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA contained apocryphal claims and outright fabrications.

Vasiliy Guslyannikov was elected president during nationwide elections in December 1991. In spring of 1993 Mordovia's Supreme Soviet abolished the post of president. This case is being examined in the republic's constitutional court.

### Chechnya To Introduce Currency; Bank Notes Ready

*LD0908205293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Usman Imayev, chairman of the Chechen National Bank, told INTERFAX that the republic has its own currency. He stressed that the Chechen Republic was already in possession of bank notes conforming to world standards, which can be introduced any time.

### Mari President on Adopting New Constitution

*PM0908135993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 1*

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA/ITAR-TASS column report: "Only by Constitutional Means"]

[Text] The Russian state's new fundamental law should be adopted constitutionally.

A statement to this effect was made by President of the Republic of Mari El Vladislav Zotin at a press conference yesterday. In his words, this, however, may not rule out the possibility of holding referendums on certain

vexed questions: private property, the status of Federation components, and also to discover the voters' opinion about whether Russia should be a parliamentary or presidential republic.

### Chinese Move Into Maritime Kray as Russians Leave

*PM0908125793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[By Leonid Savitskiy from Maritime Kray; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Savitskiy] Maritime Kray is rapidly being taken over by the Chinese. For example, around 2,000 of the large number of our neighbors arriving in our Kray via this (?Gradekovo) railroad station alone, fail to return home every month. Exploiting imperfections in Russian legislation, they remain, on various pretexts, in the surrounding area and are acquiring real estate here. So, of the 12,000 population of this border settlement—Pogranichnyy—7,000 are Chinese permanently or temporarily living here.

Meanwhile, the exodus of the indigenous population from the Far East is mounting as a result of the prevailing complex socioeconomic situation. According to information from the Kray Administration for Statistics more than 69,000 people have left Maritime Kray since the beginning of the year.

## International Affairs

### Study Views Attitudes Toward Nuclear Weapons, Alliances

*AU1008061793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 6 Aug 93 p 7*

[Article by Valeriy Pylypenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and head of section at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute: "Nuclear-Free Status. What Our Citizens Think About It"]

[Text] **The availability of nuclear weapons on the territory of our state poses a whole number of problems concerning relations between Ukraine and Russia and between Ukraine and Western countries. As is known, Russia and the West are in favor of an unconditional withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine and ratification of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty by its parliament as a parliament of a nuclear-free state. At the same time, one cannot fail to realize that the problem of nuclear weapons and Ukraine's nuclear-free status is not as simple as it seems to some people in Moscow and Washington. Ukraine borders on nuclear powers on the west and east and is situated at the crossroads of economic and geopolitical interests of many of them. No less important are the economic and legal aspects of the problem. The point is that the recognition of Russia as the only successor to the former Union creates a precedent of rating all other "heirs" as being of "minor significance" in what also concerns USSR property.**

The contradictory nature of the problem of eliminating Ukraine's nuclear weapons also finds speculation in the people's mass consciousness and public opinion. This is attested to quite convincingly by the results of a study that was conducted by the Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute. There exist three variants of resolving the problem of nuclear weapons in Ukraine. More specifically: their unconditional transfer to Russia; their elimination on the conditions of obtaining international security guarantees on the part of the United States and Russia and a compensation for the nuclear fuel and dismantling of the missiles; and the keeping of nuclear weapons by Ukraine as a guarantee of its own security. The struggle is mainly under way between the proponents of the two latter variants. That is why, although, on the whole, 49 percent of Ukrainian citizens advocate Ukraine's transformation into a nuclear-free state and just a little more than one-third are in favor of retaining the nuclear status and maintaining nuclear weapons as a security guarantor, the dispute is not between advocates of an unconditional transfer of the nuclear weapons to Russia or their transfer conditioned by certain guarantees and compensations, but between those who advocate guarantees and compensations and those who insist on retaining the nuclear cue.

The situation appears to be even more complicated if one takes into account the specific characteristics of public opinion in various regions. Thus, whereas in the Crimea and Slobodskaya Ukraine [territories involving Kharkiv and Sumy oblasts], just one-fifth of the population favor retaining nuclear weapons and two-thirds—one variant of nuclear disarmament of another, in Galicia, Podillya, and Cherkasy Oblast, as well as in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and Bukovyna, there are more advocates of retaining nuclear weapons. Of course, in addition to the variant of its transformation into a nuclear power, Ukraine has other ways of achieving its own security, including joining military units and alliances. As follows from our previous studies, increasing numbers of Ukrainian population (at least in the capital) favor Ukraine's joining NATO. On the other hand, of interest is the attitude to a military-political alliance with Russia and assessment of the latter's role as a possible guarantor of peace and security on the territory of the former Union.

The results of a study indicate that the idea of Ukraine's military-political alliance with Russia is quite popular not only among individual political forces in Ukraine but also among a broad strata of its population. This idea is supported by almost two-thirds of our citizens and in Dnipropetrovsk, Donbass, Slobodskaya Ukraine, and the Crimea by as much as 70-85 percent. As a matter of fact, it is only in Galicia that the idea of a military-political alliance between the two states finds support among less that 50 percent of the population.

If Ukraine becomes a nuclear-free state, a union with Russia (certainly, on the basis of equality) would, in all likelihood, be worthwhile. However, is it achievable on the basis of equality and not vassalage to Russia and, moreover, in the conditions of an exacerbation of economic and territorial disputes? A question naturally emerges: Will Ukrainian citizens agree to Russia's special role on the territory of the former USSR? An analysis of the results of the studies has revealed a controversial character of the mass consciousness of the Ukrainian population on these issues. On the one hand, almost two-thirds of citizens of our country (especially in eastern oblasts bordering on Russia) agree to Russia's assuming the role of guarantor of peace and stability on the territory of the former Union. However, on the other hand, the proposal that Russia also be given special rights (much greater than other countries) in order to guarantee peace and stability on the territory of the former Union is equally unacceptable for an absolute majority of the population of all Ukrainian regions. Between 7.7 percent (Donbass) of respondents and 0.0 percent (Galicia) agree to such rights for Russia. This actually rules out a military-political alliance between the two states because it is unlikely that Russia will agree to an equal union, and, for Ukraine, this is unacceptable.

Consequently, the study has revealed two most popular attitudes toward the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territory of Ukraine to Russia for their subsequent destruction there. One of them (elimination of Ukraine's nuclear weapons after providing it with guarantees and compensations) prevails in the east, south, and in the Crimea. The other (retaining nuclear weapons

as a guarantee of Ukraine's security) is more common in western and central regions of Ukraine. These differences in public opinion are reflected in the struggle among various political forces in parliament and in the mass media.

In such conditions, a hasty ratification of START I and the Lisbon Protocol, as well as a decree on the schedule for their implementation (without corresponding amendments regarding security guarantees and compensations), would be inopportune and harmful.

### Russia Halts Delivery of Petroleum Products Due to Debts

*LD0608174693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma has categorically refused to approve a scheme to introduce amendments to prices and tariffs, which was presented to a session of the cabinet by the Labor Ministry and Economy Ministry. Leonid Kuchma told those present that, whatever the prices for oil and gas, Ukraine is insolvent, and already owes Russia 830 billion karbovantsi. Consequently Russia has delivered no petroleum products whatsoever to Ukraine for five days now. While the scheme to amend prices was not approved, in keeping with a telegram from the Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers, gas, electricity, and thermal energy wholesale prices were raised today for enterprises and organizations—on average by one and a half times—which, at the end of the day, will nonetheless tell on users' wallets.

### Committee Debates Energy Debts

*LD0608185293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] A session of the collegium of the State Committee for Oil and Gas took place today, 6 August. The main topic of discussion was the preparation of the oil and gas industry for work in the fall-winter period of 1993-94. Efficient organizational and other measures will be implemented to ensure that it functions normally and satisfies the population's needs.

Because of the tense situation in accounts with Russia for energy-carriers, the talk at the session about paying debts for the energy-carriers was heated. In particular, the session stressed the need for all of Ukraine's consumers to settle their debts for acquired oil products.

### Kravchuk Issues Decree on Fuel

*LD0808055793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0523 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Lyudmila Gordeyeva]

[Text] Kiev August 8 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk issued a decree on supplying the republic's agro-industrial complex with fuel and lubricants for the period of the 1993 harvesting campaign.

Under the decree, local administrations are to use 80 per cent of oil products at their disposal for agricultural needs.

The decree was prompted not only by the Ukrainian Government's concern about the harvest, but also by the termination from July 30 of oil products supplies from Russia, to which Ukraine presently owes several hundred billions of karbovanets.

### Tunisia Detains, Fines Ukrainian Fishing Boat

*LD0808170793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0730 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Izmail, 7 Aug—The ship "Kiliya" of the Ukrainian-Danube shipping company was detained at this Tunisia port. It had engaged in tuna fishing in this country's waters. The Ukrainian fishermen were alleged to have violated the law by exceeding the catch norms. As the result of three expert inspections, Tunisia demanded a penalty of 2.4 million dollars. Later Tunisia demanded a revised penalty in the amount of over 10 million dollars. The Ukrainian-Danube shipping company sent a note of protest signed by director Oleksiy Tekhov. They are demanding the ship be released under a bank guarantee and a true penalty amount be determined. The Ukrainian vessel's interests are represented by the Norwegian insurance club "Hart."

## National Affairs

### Electoral Commission Says No Referendum 26 Sep

*LD0908212693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1957 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Kiev—On 9 August, the Central Electoral Commission made a decision on invalidating the resolution by the Central Electoral Commission on preparations for holding an all-Ukrainian referendum on confidence or no-confidence in the Ukrainian president and Supreme Council on 26 September.

It is absolutely certain that there will be no referendum in Ukraine on 26 September, said the Oleksandr Lavrynovych, acting chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, interviewed by a correspondent of the Voice of America in Kiev.

He also noted that since the Supreme Council did not pass the text of the voting paper proper and did not allocate any funds, conditions for the preparations of the referendum in accordance with laws were thus not abided by.

Oleksandr Lavrynovych stressed that a session of the Supreme Council would accordingly either postpone the referendum until later, or appoint a referendum on other questions, or take a decision to hold early elections without a referendum.

### Ministry Views Radiation Danger Due to Floods

*LD0908164693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] At Ukraine's MinChernobyl [Ministry for the Protection of Population from the Aftermath of the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station Accident], an interdepartmental commission has held a session. It considered issues of the radiation situation changing in connection with the flood, and with ground water rising in Volhynia, Zhitomir, and Rovno oblasts. It dealt with changes in and forecasting the radiation and hygienic condition of the areas which had suffered as result of the Chernobyl disaster.

MinChernobyl's press service reported that the situation on the Pripyat River and its tributaries, and the Kiev reservoir today somewhat deteriorated in connection with the efflux of radioactive substances from the areas which had been affected by the flood. In particular, the concentration of Strontium in the area of the Kiev water intake on the Dnieper River amounts to nine (?picocurie) per one liter of water. However, these levels are not higher than those in the period of the spring floods this and last year.

To monitor the situation, a headquarters has been set up attached to MinChernobyl, and specialist working groups formed dealing with forecasting and researching changes in the radiation situation in the water, ground, and agricultural produce on the contaminated areas.

### Danger Downplayed

*AU1008110093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 7 Aug 93 p 6*

[Unattributed report: "Let Us Maintain Calm"]

[Text] Ukraine's Ministry of Environmental Protection and Ukraine's Ministry of Nature State Administration for Kiev Oblast held a news conference that dealt with the ecological and radiological consequences of the flooding in the Uzh and Pripyat Rivers, and also in the Kiev water reservoir, which is known to have become the main accumulation of radionuclides. As a result of the fact that rivers burst their banks and water overflowed the reservoir, the radiological situation in the region has deteriorated. However, despite the fact that the environment did "become richer" in strontium, cesium, and other substances that are dangerous for the human organism, the journalists and, therefore, all citizens of Ukraine were reassured: There is nothing terrible about this. As Karlson [Who Lives on the Roof—a fairy tale] liked to say: "Calm and once more calm!"

### Progress on Harvest Reported

*LD0908150193*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 9 August, in the "Novosti" newscast, carries a one-minute report on the harvest in Ukraine. Correspondent Vitaliy Pidchenko notes that the harvesting of early grain crops is nearing completion in Ukraine. The average yield of winter wheat was about 34 quintals per hectare at the start of the harvesting and 37 quintals over the last few days. The procurement price for a tonne of wheat has gone up to 500,000 karbovants in the Republic. Peasants have been given the right to choose whether to sell all their grain immediately to the state at current prices or to put it into the state silos today and get the money later, taking account of inflation.

### Expert Discusses Economic Crisis, Financial Issues

*AU1008104993 Kiev UKRAYINSKA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 12 (24), 5-18 Aug 93*

[Second installment of article by Professor Volodymyr Chernyak, doctor of economic sciences and head of department at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Economics Institute: "The Situation Must Stabilize by This Coming Fall"]

[Text] I would like to continue the discussion of ways to emerge from the crisis with financial issues. The thing is that we are a state without money. We need a national currency that would fulfill all functions of money. It is impossible, in principle, to stabilize our economy with the help of the coupon. I do not share the opinion that is being voiced by [Prime Minister] Leonid Kuchma and [Vice Prime Minister for Questions of Economic Reform] Viktor Pynzenyk on the post-stabilization introduction of the Ukrainian currency. They proceed from the assumption that, under present conditions, we will fully discredit the hryvnya.

The introduction of our own currency alongside the implementation of reform in our country is a factor... in stabilizing the economy. We cannot, therefore, stabilize the economy first and then introduce the currency.

Of course, certain conditions are necessary for its introduction: The economy must pass the peak of inflation, the decline in production must be halted or, at least, the rate of this decline must slow down, and corresponding reserve funds must be available—we have none. Incidentally, the currency earned for exports of our products remains abroad. Therefore, it may seem, at first glance, that there are no grounds for introducing the national currency and, for that reason, even Western experts recommend that, first, the economy must be stabilized and then the hryvnya be introduced. Theoretically, these recommendations are correct, but not for our conditions.

I adhere to the point of view according to which the hryvnya needs to be introduced gradually, by portions. For example, first a privatization hryvnya, that would service privatization processes, might be introduced.

In March 1993, two assemblies of entrepreneurs and one union of independent entrepreneurs came into being.

Prior to that, there existed a great many various entrepreneur structures. It would, certainly, be better to have one union or association that would unite knowledge, efforts, and capital. However, we are in a transitional period, a period of accumulation of initial capital with all the positive and negative consequences thereof. It is impossible to avoid this phenomenon. Besides, it is that broth in which genuine market relations may mature. That is why I am categorically opposed to suppressing this process.

In the conditions that have taken shape, it is unprofitable to engage in production, construction, or fulfillment of long-term programs. The objective economic situation makes entrepreneurs stay away from production. This is also attested to by the data for January and February 1993. For example, Ukraine's income constituted 800 billion karbovantsi [K] (in current prices) out of which K500 billion belong to banks. I am not against banks, but conditions are such that it is profitable to take advantage of the differences in prices and rates of exchange. Generally speaking, this is being taken advantage of throughout the world, and there are real professionals and geniuses abroad. However, this is, as a rule, a small percentage of gamblers, and the standard of living is generally normal.

Business needs stability, and an entrepreneur cannot conduct his business at full capacity unless he is able to foresee the situation (proceeding from our realities, the taxation system is unstable, the interest rates on credits unpredictable, and the wages vary). In the economy, as in physics, there must be a constant (otherwise there is nothing to proceed from). The economy may only be stabilized by way of stabilizing an economic policy. However, where is that policy if the government itself is being torn by contradictions and if apparatus games, based on the so familiar obsolete mechanism, are continuing. If we also add to this the nonstandard actions (in the worst sense of the word) on the part of the Supreme Council, president, and local officials....

This problem is very painful. Our state's policy with regard to cadres is, mildly speaking, not as good as it should be. It is not in the general interest. With such an approach, it is impossible to implement reforms.

"The cadres decide everything"—these are the words of a person toward whom I feel antipathy. However, we need a government of reformers, a professional parliament, and reformers in the provinces, something that we, unfortunately, do not have. This is one of the reasons that reforms are not implemented.

Take, for example, the land reform. It is hampered by the Supreme Council and by leaders in the provinces. We need to urgently reform the system of collective and state farms into a mixed system of economic management (farmers, self-employed farmers, real collective farms, and so on) that would be viable and would provide Ukraine with foodstuffs.

The trouble with our economy also lies in the fact that two most important questions have not yet been resolved: on power and on ownership that are closely associated with the policy with regard to cadres. I will never agree with statements to the effect that we do not have corresponding specialists—this is simply an insult for a 52 million strong population of a European state. We have people for corresponding posts, people who are capable of breaking through the crisis situation in the economy. However, the thing is that the same pack of cards continues to be shuffled and the nomenklatura principle in selecting personnel continues to be used. A new democratic nomenklatura has emerged alongside the old. It has successfully assimilated the habits of its predecessors.

It was Confucius who said that three decisive criteria need to be taken into account in selecting state officials: integrity, capability, and competence. If a candidate has the two latter qualities, but lacks integrity, he should never hold a state post.

What do we have? Hypercorruption that has united with hyperinflation. This has rendered the situation in the Ukrainian economy uncontrollable. In order that an economic situation be controlled, it is necessary to overcome hyperinflation and hypercorruption, something that, again, depends upon the policy with regard to cadres—the selection of state officials....

Bankruptcy is also inevitable in the creation of a market environment. It is a normal phenomenon, although it is, certainly, necessary to elaborate its mechanism and adopt a corresponding law, so that those enterprises would go bankrupt that "deserve" it. At present, the situation in this respect is garbled.

In general, it is necessary to talk of bankruptcy in financial terms. It is not a matter of closing down an enterprise, but just of replacing its leadership, leaseholder, or owner and, as a rule, this must be accompanied by a modernization and reprofiling of the enterprise. The issuing of credits will also play an important role. Attempts to rescue unprofitable enterprises constitute, perhaps, one of the most important factors in inflation. That is why it is necessary to support those who manufacture consumer goods, competitive products, and so on. Incidentally, to rescue everybody means to destroy everybody. Therefore, we should not fear bankruptcy....

In our conditions, the state and the situation that has taken shape may be responsible for the bankruptcy of enterprises as a result of low prices of their products and high prices of raw and other materials or assembly parts that they purchase, and also high taxes and so on. One should not forget that bankruptcies throughout the world get assistance from the state (mainly those enterprises that have found themselves in a difficult situation, but whose products are vitally important for the state). We must also give support to our bankruptcies.

The economic factor has now become a destabilizing one for the political situation in Ukraine. An unprecedented impoverishment of the people is in progress. Among the CIS countries, Ukraine presently nas the lowest wages and the highest prices. Over the recent one-half year, the standard of living of the republic's population has dropped almost by one-half. This process cannot be indefinite. If the power structures fail to resolve the economic problems by this coming fall, the entire situation will further deteriorate and social tension will grow.

At present, the idea of independence, democracy and the market is being virtually discredited. Let me point out that the process of transition from one system to another cannot be painless, but not to such an extent. We have crossed the borderline beyond which violence is possible, and so on. This would be very undesirable....

I am not inclined to overdramatize the situation. If, even now, we start acting in accordance with the situation, in a proper manner, decisively, and consistently, if we adhere to a program for urgent measures and emergency actions, display a strong political will for implementing reforms, and have a team of genuine reformers, we will have a chance to emerge from the difficult situation gradually though not painlessly. Even despite the fact that Russia turns the wheel of danger one time with energy sources, another time with the fleet, and another time with the ruble.

## Cossacks Prepare Defensive Measures for State, President

*AU0908175293 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 30 (111), Aug 93 p 1*

[Rukh-Press report: "For the Defense of the State"]

[Text] Yevhen Petrenko, Cossack chieftain of the Ukrainian Cossackdom, issued an order to create a permanent Sich [settlement of Ukrainian Cossacks] in the town of Ordzhonikidze in Dnipropetrovsk Oblast and adjacent territories for the purpose of gathering and training patriotic units for the defense of the state and President. According to the document, this order was issued in connection with the extremely complicated sociopolitical and economic situation in Ukraine and territorial claims by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on Crimea. Once, there existed the Chortomlyk Sich on the historical Sich lands.

## Moldova

### Sources Predict Attempt To Dissolve Parliament

*AU1008053493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES, 9/8/1993—A ROMPRES writer in Chisinau was told by reliable parliamentary sources that the majority in parliament would try to dissolve parliament on August 10, when the current extraordinary session was scheduled to continue after a few days of interruption.

Mircea Snegur, the president of the Republic of Moldova, who gave interviews to REUTER and DER SPIEGEL in which he said he was favoring the holding of early elections, an idea equally supported by Premier Sangheli who spoke on August 9 on the Bucharest Radio.

The MOLDOVA PRESS agency was asked to urgently translate a bill on elections in Russian immediately after the Parliament of Moldova rejected the CIS charter. The bill is likely to be submitted to parliament for debate and endorsement on August 10, before the legislative body dissolves.

### Official Favors Dissolution

*AU1008095693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 9/8/1993—The current parliament should be dissolved, as Moldova needs "de-Sovietization," stated to BASAPRESS Viorel Ciubotaru, head of President Snegur's cabinet of advisers. Ciubotaru said the deputies had not been elected from many parties; they did not create a civilized parliament, but a Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova. Snegur's adviser believes that the current parliament is the last outcome of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. He said his opinion was mostly the same as that of the Moldovan Social-Democratic Party.

### Official Interviewed on Parliament, Romania

*AU0908201793 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 7 Aug 93 p 3*

[Interview with Pavel Rotaru, head of the Analysis and Public Opinion Department of the Chisinau Parliament, by Gabriel Barca; place and date not given: "One Needs To Be Tactful"]

[Text] [Barca] The results of the Wednesday [4 August] vote in the Chisinau Parliament are the known ones. However, things are not totally clear. What "scenarios" do you think have the greatest chances of becoming real?

[Rotaru] I do not believe that the parliament can be dissolved, although I heard a lot of talk about it. That would lead to a presidential leadership, which does not suit the conservative or democratic parties. Instability would become total and the situation would deteriorate even further.

[Barca] Immediately after the rejection of the Republic of Moldova's adherence to the CIS, new "initiatives" are being taken to submit the document signed by President Mircea Snegur in Almaty in 1991 to a new vote. What chances of "success" do you give to these attempts?

[Rotaru] We must be very realistic and pragmatic. On the one hand, there is the "CIS program" and, on the other hand, the wishes of the democratic groups that insist on integration with Romania and, through it, with Europe. Unfortunately, the latter lack the imperiously needed dose of down-to-earthiness (they are not adequately backed by a program similar to the pro-CIS one).

[Barca] Last Wednesday, President Snegur did not explicitly call on the deputies to vote in favor of the CIS treaty. How do you interpret that? Was it a step back or did it just mark time?

[Rotaru] No. I do not believe that. He simply dwelt on the economic aspects of the problem.

[Barca] What do you expect from Bucharest now? What would be, in your opinion, the best "signal" to come from there?

[Rotaru] As always, one needs to be tactful and calm.

[Barca] Before last Wednesday, did you effectively feel Bucharest's support?

[Rotaru] Generally speaking, yes. We could have received even more help if Romania had come with arguments that should exceed the mere sphere of simple wishes.

[Barca] Nevertheless, part of the current Romanian opposition has often emphasized the need for efficient economic support for the Republic of Moldova, in favor of substantial reforms there. Several concrete plans were also submitted....

[Rotaru] The trouble is that the situation here could not "guarantee" their success. You see, I believe that all this support would have been wasted. You should remember that we are caught in quite a few "traps": the colossal corruption, Dniester, and the difficult financial situation.

### Parties' Stands on Dissolution Viewed

*AU1008105593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/8/1993—The proceedings of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova were scheduled to resume in Chisinau on August 10. Debates were interrupted last Wednesday, August 4, immediately after the parliament failed to ratify the CIS Charter. The majority in parliament favours the dissolution of the legislative body.

The Christian-Democratic People's Front of Moldova issued a declaration showing that the dissolution of

parliament is an attempt, the second in an interval of one year, to install dictatorship by granting special powers to the president.

Representatives of four parties and social-political democratic movements of the Republic of Moldova said at press conferences that they were for snap elections and not for the parliament to get dissolved. An appeal was addressed to Romania's President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Vacaroiu, the president of the Senate, Oliviu Gherman, and the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Adrian Nastase.

The representatives of various trends in the Moldovan Parliament asked that the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova be set on new bases, initiatives be launched and backed regarding support to be granted to Moldova by Romania on various planes. The appeal is signed by Vasile Nedelciuc, co-chairman of the group of the Intellectuals' Congress, Gheorghe Ghimbu, president of the democrats' group, Alexandru Arsenie, chairman of the group of the Democratic Labour Party and Valentin Dolganiuc, chairman of the group of the Christian-Democratic People's Front.

### Democratic Groups Oppose Dissolution

*AU1008094393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 9 Aug*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 9/8/1993—The opposition parliamentary groups, the Congress of Intelligentsia, the Christian-Democratic People's Front, and the Democratic Party of Labour have often appealed to Parliaments and Governments of CIS, to the European Community, to the leadership of Romania, USA, Canada, and to the Moldovan people. The leaders of the groups stated this today at a press conference. Their appeals demanded "to support democratic processes in Moldova and revise relations with Moldova." The opposition leaders were unanimously saying that parliament should be kept until important laws, such as the law on many-parties elections, are approved; the parliament is the sole legal organ representing Moldova entirely. Alexandru Mosanu, chairman of the Congress of Intelligentsia, said the current leadership of Moldova still wants to get rid of Romania and link to CIS. "We have no information that Romania is involved in the CIS Agreement ratification. However, we believe it would be national treason if such involvement existed," stated Mosanu.

### Tiraspol Deputies Refuse To Return to Parliament

*AU1008095493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 9/8/1993—None of the Tiraspol deputies who left the parliament will ever return to Chisinau, states to BASAPRESS Petr Zalozhkov, one of the 16 Tiraspol deputies in the Moldovan Parliament. We have our parliament and our republic, stated Zalozhkov. Rumours said that some MPs tried to make Tiraspol deputies return to gather the needed number of votes to halt parliament's activity. BASAPRESS questioned many deputies of Transdniester on this point. Most of them said they refused to be again deputies in the Moldovan Parliament; others were missing or were out of Moldova.

### Foreign Minister, Kuwaiti Envoy Discuss Relations

*AU1008104193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 9/8/1993—Mr. Mohammad S. al-Sallal, special messenger of the Kuwait Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ambassador of Kuwait to Geneva, has arrived on a work visit to Chisinau. Nicolae Tau, Moldovan minister of foreign affairs, received the guest today. The two dignitaries talked on the mutual relations between the states. They sought ways to speed up these relations. Mohammad al-Sallal told the Moldovan minister about the political problems his country faces. One of these problems is Iraq. In this context, Mr. Tau said Moldova has firmly pronounced for the UN Security Council resolution on the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait.

## Kazakhstan

### Nazarbayev Visits Western Region, Discusses Grain Yield

*LD1008100593 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Russian 0605 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] On 9 August President Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Tereshchenko visited the Ankatinskiy pedigree stock-breeding farm. Later they arrived at the grain state farm named after the PRAVDA newspaper and then went over to Zelenovskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Nazarbayev] Kazakhstan was not the first to introduce borderline barriers. We did that half a year after Russia had done it even though we had an agreement about the common space. I have just toured several rayons here, and the grain yield in west Kazakhstan is good. In some places it is unprecedented. Difficulties have emerged in connection with this now. It needs very quick harvesting. Each farm has to receive very clear-cut instructions how much grain should it give over to the state, and we have done this—specified it in the state order. They must know how much stocks they should leave for their own use. The rest will be allowed to be sold at their own liking. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Here in west Kazakhstan Nazarbayev met heads of Russian oblasts administrations: Titov from Samara, Yelagin from Orenburg, Belykh from Saratov.

### Supreme Soviet Presidium Passes Resolutions

*LD0608194593 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] A routine session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, chaired by Serikbolsyn Abdildin, resumed its work on 5 August after parliamentary vacations. It specified a number of draft laws that are to be submitted for consideration by the 11th session of parliament. A resolution was approved to increase the number of judges in certain district (city), regional, and people's courts. It also confirmed the members for the standing commissions of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS member-countries; a coordination council of an interparliamentary information bureau from Kazakhstan; and an interparliamentary commission on cooperation between the Kazakh Supreme Soviet and Turkey's Grand National Assembly.

The Presidium passed a resolution approving the composition of the National Bank.

The session was also attended by the Deputy Prime Minister Asygat Zhabagin.

### Chinese NPC Delegation Departs After 'Useful' Visit

*LD0908142193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0853 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko for TASS]

[Text] Almaty, 9 Aug—A delegation from the PRC National People's Congress [NPC] headed by Tomur Dawamat, vice chairman of the NPC's Standing Committee, held a news conference today after returning to the capital of Kazakhstan from a visit to Kokchetav Oblast. The PRC parliamentarians noted that their visit had been useful. They said it had facilitated further mutual understanding, the strengthening of friendship, and the development of all-around cooperation between the two countries. The Chinese delegation later left for home.

## Kyrgyzstan

### Gold Mining Deals With U.S., Canadian Firms Evoke Concern

*PM0908093393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Aug 93 First Edition p 7*

[Valeriy Kuklin report under the general heading "'Gold Bombshell' For the President"]

[Text] Dzhambul—Who will get the income from the country's gold deposits? This and similar questions have often been asked by the people of Kyrgyzstan recently. It is a question of the colossal riches contained deep inside the Tien Shan Mountains, which legally belong to all the people of Kyrgyzstan but suddenly find themselves owned by foreign companies such as, for instance, Canada's Cameco.

The treaty signed with the Canadians by the republic's leadership is drawn up in such a way that "management of the project is wholly in the hands of structures set up by Cameco... The Kyrgyz side cannot influence decision-making or the management of the project," states the conclusion of the Supreme Soviet deputies' commission which has been investigating the legality of a number of contracts.

It is interesting to note that the company will be spending $48 million, of which only $1 million will be paid to the gold's owners for their social development needs. On the other hand, the profit in the form of precious metals is expected to be not less than $500 million, of which only the gold will be shared with Kyrgyzstan—the platinum and palladium will be owned by the Canadians.

And the statement that the Canadians will allegedly be sharing their technological secrets and installing their own equipment, which has no parallel in the CIS countries, somehow sounds unnatural coming from interested

members of the government. But specialists from the "Kyrgyzaltyn" concern claim that home-produced equipment is in no way inferior to Canadian, and even surpasses it in certain respects.

For instance, the mining and enrichment combine at the "Dzhemruy" deposit in Talas Oblast is itself capable of mining the yellow metal. Specialists in this sector—including people from the mysteriously abandoned "Kuru-Tegerek" deposit—have been working and living there for decades. This is the most favorable sector in the republic's entire gold mining industry. But, by decision of the Kyrgyz Cabinet of Ministers, it has been promised to a U.S. firm. Although local specialists, using unique technology that has been developed here, can guarantee gold two years earlier than the Americans. But preference is still being given to the transatlantic businessmen.

Articles in defense of the interests of Kyrgyzstan's peoples are nonetheless with great difficulty making it into the local press. As a result, an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium was convened. Prime Minister T. Chyngyshev, who spoke at it, was unable to answer a single question put to him by deputies on the problems of the utilization of the gold deposits. In the meantime he had signed an agreement with the Canadians and promised the Americans a contract that is almost equally detrimental for the republic.

Cameco is planning to mine around 700 tonnes of gold on Kyrgyz territory. And the contract with this company was signed virtually in an atmosphere of secrecy. Although there is a law on concessions that requires such contracts to be concluded openly and publicly on a tender basis.

This has given rise to a lot of rumor and speculation among the people of Kyrgyzstan about the incompetence of their leaders and, even more, about their alleged desire to get rich at the people's expense. Because it is hard to believe that the country is led by people who can be wound so easily around the little finger of U.S. and Canadian entrepreneurs.

### Minister Ends Visit to India, Signs Agreements

*LD0608180993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Baydashin]

[Text] Delhi August 6 TASS—Foreign Minister of Kyrgyzstan, Ednan Karabayev, ended his visit to India on Friday [6 August] and flew home. During his three-day stay in India the Kyrgyz foreign minister had meetings with Indian President Shankar Dayal Sharma, Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh.

In the course of the Indian-Kyrgyz talks the sides confirmed their desire to develop mutually beneficial cooperation in different fields. An agreement was reached on the establishment of a mixed bilateral commission on trade, economic, scientific- and technical, and cultural cooperation.

India and Kyrgyzstan signed a protocol on cooperation between the Foreign Ministries of the two countries envisaging mutual consultations, an exchange of views on actual problems, and training and fieldwork of diplomats.

Both sides also discussed a package of future agreements to be concluded, specifically on a regular air service, tourism, as well as on granting a 5 million U.S. dollar credit by India to Kyrgyzstan.

Ednan Karabayev handed over an official message of Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev to Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao which confirmed the invitation to the head of Indian Government to visit the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. This visit is expected to take place in autumn this year.

## Tajikistan

### Tajik, Afghan Foreign Ministers To Discuss Border

*LD1008070393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0623 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Aug—"I am intending to discuss the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and our understanding of how to normalize this situation with Afghan Foreign Minister Hedayat Amin Arsala," said Rashid Olimov, the head of Tajikistan's foreign policy department, in a telephone conversation today with the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

In the words of the minister, he will suggest to his Afghan colleague that the issue of the repatriation of refugees and question of a bilateral summit meeting also be discussed. Of course, Rashid Olimov noted, the agenda of the talks will be further discussed and amplified.

Hedayat Amin Arsala, the head of Afghanistan's diplomatic department, is expected to arrive in Dushanbe by 1200 Moscow time.

### Afghan Minister Arrives

*LD1008123493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1046 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 10 Aug (TASS)—"The leadership of my country advocates peace, calm, and stability in the Republic of Tajikistan, whose peoples have long been linked by friendly, good-neighborly relations," stated Hedayat Amin Arsalait, foreign minister of the Islamic

State of Afghanistan, to local and foreign journalists on his arrival in Dushanbe today.

The head of the neighboring state's foreign ministry has arrived in Tajikistan at the invitation of Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov with the aim of discussing the situation on the Tajik-Afghan frontier and the problem of Tajik refugees on the territory of Afghanistan, and of preparing a bilateral summit meeting between the heads of state—Chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Imamali Rakhmanov and President of the Islamic State of Afghanistan Borhanoddin Rabbani.

Replying to a question from correspondents on possible involvement in the negotiating process by representatives of the Tajik opposition, Mr. Hedayat Amin Arsala noted that his country advocated a political solution to Tajikistan's internal problem.

A working meeting between the two foreign ministers will begin this afternoon. The meeting is being held behind closed doors. A news conference will be given on conclusion of the Afghan foreign minister's visit to Tajikistan.

### Rahkmanov on Central Asian Summit, Afghanistan

*LD0908184293 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Today the head of state Imamali Rahkmanov held talks with mass media chiefs. In the course of the talk he spoke about the conference of the heads of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and the representative of the president of Turkmenistan. Imamali Rahkmanov stressed that the leaders of these countries made good suggestions at the conference for the Tajik-Afghan border protection, which is a common border. The statement, declaration, and the other important documents pertaining to the border protection have been adopted at this conference. He has also stressed that the foundation has been laid to the quadrilateral meeting at this conference. This meeting will take place in the near future.

At the end, Imamali Rahkmanov expressed his idea about the forthcoming meeting with the Islamic State of Afghanistan President Borhanoddin Rabbani. He said that the leadership of the Republic of Tajikistan from the first days of taking office has struggled and will struggle to solve the problems peacefully.

### Gorno-Badakhshan Leaders Meet Tajik Official

*LD0708124693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By Alisher Khodzhayev from Tajikistan, including interviews with Balkhiyer Zamirov, chairman of the Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast Executive Committee, Garibsho Shakhbozov, chairman of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, and Makhmadsaid Ubaydullayev, deputy chairman of the Tajikistan Council of Ministers; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Leaders of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast have arrived in Dushanbe. The aim of the visit is to settle an armed conflict near the Khaburabad pass.

[Khodzhayev] At a meeting with Makhmadsaid Ubaydullayev, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, which was attended by representatives of the command of Russian troops in Tajikistan and the Committee for Women' Affairs, consultations were held on two most important problems: a cease-fire and the immediate lifting of a blockade of the pass, since, for example, the ration of groats has been reduced to 200 grammes a month in the Pamirs.

What is the present situation in the Pamirs?

[Zamirov] There has been some improvement. There is hope that the Tajikistan leadership is doing everything to stabilize the situation. Perhaps both sides should try to ensure food supplies to the Pamirs.

[Khodzhayev] In the last few days there have been media reports that a Pamir Republic has been set up.

[Shakhbozov] There has been no announcement of any Pamir Republic. The Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast was and remains part of the Tajik Republic. There has never been any question of Gorno-Badakhshan seceding from Tajikistan. No mobilization has been announced on the territory of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. We have never raised the question of the present government's resignation.

[Ubaydullayev] Everyone is waiting for final measures. On my part I can say that peace has already come to Tajikistan. Nobody will be able to divide and break up Tajikistan, since mainly representatives of the Tajik nation live on this ancient suffering soil, and from time immemorial their dream has been to live in friendship with all nations and peoples, irrespective of political views, religion, and social position.

### Badakhshan Official on Damage From Economic Blockade

*LD0708191993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1308 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug—"The results of the meeting of the heads of states of Central Asia and Russia dedicated to stabilizing the situation in Tajikistan have been welcomed in Gorno-Badakhshan as a sign of hope for the better," Bibigulshod Mirzhanova, first deputy chairman of the Gorno-Badakhshan oblast soviet of people's deputies, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent by telephone from Khorog.

She said priority should be given to measures aimed at reinforcing the Tajik-Afghan border and ensuring its inviolability. Border guards from Russia are helping Pamir residents, providing them with transport and sharing their meager food supplies, she noted. But the border guards themselves are in need of most elementary things. They too need support from the center.

Bibigulshod Mirzhanova said the economic blockade has exacerbated conditions for the population of the mountain areas. Every household in Pamir is suffering because of irregular supplies of bread, other foodstuffs, and medicines. The ration of between two and three kg of flour a month per person is clearly insufficient. In their attempts to survive, people are planting vegetable gardens wherever they can. But it will be hard to overcome all the difficulties alone, without help from the government and from Commonwealth countries.

Despite all this, people are thinking about the future and about their children, Bibigulshod Mirzhanova says. The school year will begin shortly, but the shops are empty, there are no school uniforms, no textbooks, nothing at all. Things brought in by passing tradesmen are less than one thousandth of what the people here require. So our great hope is that by joint efforts the blockade will be lifted, Mirzhanova concluded.

### Rebel Leader Favors Talks With Russia, Not Government

*BK0708114093 Hong Kong AFP in English 1100 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Kabul, Aug 7 (AFP)—Tajikistan's opposition leader refused Saturday [7 August] to hold direct talks with the government in Dushanbe on the growing crisis along the Afghan border but said he was willing to negotiate with Russian leaders.

"We are ready to sit with the Russians as the main party in the crisis," Mohammad Sharif Himatzade said. "But we are not willing to sit with their puppets."

Himatzade has been leading a coalition against a communist government in Dushanbe that is backed by Moscow, which has stationed thousands of troops along the frontier between Afghanistan and Tajikistan to block the infiltration of rebel forces.

"We are ready to sit with the masters and by doing so the problems with the slaves will be solved automatically," the rebel leader said in an interview in the Afghan capital.

Leaders from five Central Asian Republics were meeting in Moscow Saturday with President Boris Yeltsin to seek a solution to rising tensions on the Afghan-Tajik border, where hundreds of Afghan civilians are reported to have been killed in Russian artillery and rocket attacks.

Dushanbe has said it will only talk to a political opposition and not to armed militants with whom they have said it was "only possible to use the language of weapons."

But Moscow is seeking to persuade the Tajik government to negotiate with the rebels, many of whom fled south to regroup in Afghanistan after briefly holding power last year.

Himatzade dismissed the conference as a ruse by Russia to force the Central Asian republics to send troops to the Afghan-Tajik frontier.

"Yeltsin will try to pressure those leaders into sending troops and assistance to the Tajikistan border by threatening to pull out his own troops," said Himatzade, who has been living under tight security in Kabul since Tuesday after being expelled from Pakistan for making political statements.

Tajik leader Imamali Rakhmanov said on his arrival in Moscow that he expected the conference to reach agreement on "measures aimed at reinforcing the frontier," the INTERFAX news agency reported.

INTERFAX also reported that the Tajik opposition coalition that includes Himatzade's Islamic Rennaissance Party had called for a dialogue to end the conflict, which has cost upwards of 20,000 lives in the past year according to Tajik government estimates.

Russia has accused Afghanistan of backing the Moslem rebels, a charge Kabul denies although Afghan mujahedeen commanders on the ground admit providing some support.

Himatzade said his group had received no support from Afghanistan and would not ask the Kabul government to be involved in any peace talks because it "was not a party in the crisis."

Afghanistan's leaders last month rebuffed a call by Moscow for it to join talks, saying any negotiations should be between Dushanbe and the opposition.

The leaders of Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan convened hours after Russian troops killed some 40 rebels who tried to cross the Amu-Darya river from Afghanistan into Tajikistan, the Russian general staff said.

Russian intelligence officials said Thursday nearly 2,000 rebels backed by armoured cars seemed to be preparing to invade Tajikistan from the western end of the border.

Himatzade appealed to the west for aid saying: "If you fought against communism for moral reasons then the same reasons still exist in Tajikistan.

"If your memories are so weak that within two years you have forgiven Lenin, Stalin, Mao etc. etc., then we will be ready to forgive Rakhmanov."

### Tajik Troops Complete Operation Against Rebels

*LD1008082393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0719 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By Salokhiddin Ergashev, correspondent of the Tajik "KHOVAR" news agency and TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe August 10 TASS—Tajik Government troops successfully completed Monday [9 August] evening a large-scale operation against opposition forces in Tavildara district of the republic, launched on August 1st, "KHOVAR" was informed today by officials of the press centre of the Tajik Defence Ministry. The last enemy defences on the Khaburabad mountain pass were wiped out on August 9. The insurgents, who had controlled the area for quite a time, refusing to voluntarily surrender their weapons and ammunition, were routed.

Tajik Government troops captured several depots of arms and ammunition of Chinese and Pakistani make. The local motor road was cleared of of mines.

It is common knowledge that the opposition had controlled the Dushanbe-Khorog motor road, the only route linking the administrative centre of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region with the centre of the republic.

Today, a column of trucks with food, medicines and consumer goods, escorted by government troops, will leave Tavildara for the Khaburabad pass, where it will be handed over to the leadership of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

### Officials Detail Actions

*LD1008140593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1346 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe August 10 TASS—The Tajikistan authorities rejected reports of a number of the media about alleged facts of the advance of the Tajik Government forces deeper into the territory of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. Kozidavlat Koimdodov, deputy speaker of the Tajikistan parliament, said that after antigovernment group was crushed near Khaburabad pass, representatives of the Gorno-Badakhshan administration reached an arrangement on the control over the pass by joint actions of law enforcement bodies of the central government and the autonomous region. Its purpose is to ensure the protection of the pass for a safe delivery of humanitarian cargoes from Dushanbe to the Pamirs, and also to put a stop to the transportation of arms and narcotics and of illegal armed groups.

Commenting on the situation in the Pamirs region and Darvan district of the Pamirs, officials in the press centre of the Tajikistan Defence Ministry said that units of the government army after routing main forces of the opposition group now conduct an operation to mop up commandos in foothills. Chiefs of the press centre said unambiguously that during the operation, aviation of the Tajik Defence Ministry dealt strikes only at strongpoints of the opposition in the Khaburabad pass, while not one of the nearby villages was bombed.

Meanwhile, foreign correspondents who returned today from the area of hostilities testify that Sagirdasht and Shati-Sher villages have traces of damage by bombing and shelling.

### Officer Denies Russian Troops Involved in Tajik Hostilities

*LD1008024893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Alisher Khodzhayev] Developments on the Tajik-Afghan border, and in the last few days, military operations in the Pamirs area, give rise to conflicting reports from Tajikistan. These include reported participation of the Russian troops in the hostilities.

In this connection, a news conference for local and foreign journalists was held in Dushanbe today. Answering reporters' questions were Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Sokolov, head of the operational group of the Armed Forces of the Russian Defense Ministry, and Colonel Anatoliy Ivlev, deputy commander of the 201st Motorized Infantry Division. The officers spoke for political and diplomatic settlement of disputed issues, unambiguously asserting that military means were an extreme measure.

[Begin Sokolov recording] Servicemen of the Russian Armed Forces are not taking any part in the operation conducted by Tajikistan's Defense Ministry in the Tavildara area. I would like to state straight away that Russian servicemen did not and will not interfere in the internal affairs of the friendly republic of Tajikistan.

Under Russian-Tajik agreements, the purpose of the presence of Russian servicemen in the Republic of Tajikistan is above all to reinforce the border and to ensure safe living conditions here for the numerous Russian-speaking population. Military resistance to bandit formations is a necessary measure, but it is also a forced measure. [end recording]

### Paper Outlines Opposition's Plans

*PM1008102193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 2*

[Aleksandr Pelts "Military Review": "Operation 'Tear Apart.' Why Russia Has To Defend the Tajik-Afghan Border"]

[Text] Recent events in Tajikistan increasingly remind us of events we witnessed not so long ago. Even geographically Afghanistan and Tajikistan are neighbors.

And during the attack on the 12th border post, Tajik gunmen and mojahedin from the Afghan 55th Infantry Division mounted a joint operation.

The verdict of the military specialists is unanimous: This was a thoroughly prepared operation with all types of support controlled from abroad from start to finish.

**The Pamir Fuse**

Why precisely was the 12th border post chosen as the target for attack? After all, 12 to 18 months ago the main action was happening hundreds of kilometers further west, in the zone for which the Pyandzhskiy border detachment is responsible.

The answer to this question provides the key to understanding the principal strategic objectives of the armed opposition. And all the indications are that these objectives have undergone major changes since the gunmen announced their intention to launch Operation "Retribution" (see KRASNAYA ZVEZDA from 20 February 1993, "Is There a Way Out of the Ramit Canyon?").

The main strike at that time was planned from the so-called Garm group of rayons—a string of small towns and villages along the Dushanbe-Garm highway. These are the inaccessible mountain areas to which the Tajik gunmen had escaped after being routed.

From here they began to beat a path toward the Afghan mojahedin. Without much success, it has to be said. Soon helicopters with Afghan identification markings began to cross the border in the zone for which the Khorogskiy and Moskovskiy border detachments are responsible. It is now known that they were dropping weapons and essential items for waging guerrilla warfare in the areas where the Garm grouping was located. Afghan instructors and gunmen came here across the mountains. Basically, a major regrouping of opposition forces was openly being carried out, and their highest hopes were now being placed on detachments entrenched in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO). According to the assessment of the Tajik Ministry of Defense, the size of the Garm grouping fluctuates between 1,000 and 3,000 men. It has access to support depots and caches of weapons and munitions, and virtually never suspends hostilities.

**Gorno-Badakhshan: A Second Front?**

The most alarming incident is this: On 1 August in the vicinity of the village of Sagirdasht (in the west of the GBAO), a landing party of government troops (an infantry battalion with armor) landed and attacked positions occupied by the autonomous oblast's self-defense detachments. There were losses on both sides. The Gorno-Badakhshan authorities are demanding the immediate withdrawal of the landing party and are proposing that all problems be resolved around the negotiating table. However, all the indications are that official Dushanbe does not have the time for this. The situation that has arisen requires the authorities to decisively eliminate the armed opposition, which is concentrated mainly in the GBAO. The detachments of gunmen stationed in the cities of Rogun and Obigarm and in the Ramit Canyon are in a state of full combat readiness. It is of course possible that they too will move toward Dushanbe at any time. Moreover, the results of last week's Badakhshan Supreme Soviet session have provoked serious concern among the present authorities. It is well known that almost the entire leadership of the autonomous oblast was reelected at this session. As a result, Dushanbe is practically losing control of these important regions and fears that opposition representatives will soon become the sovereign masters of Gorno-Badakhshan.

This development of events indicates primarily that the present Tajik authorities are striving with all their might to delay the implementation of the opposition's second plan, which was approved at the end of June in the village of Bakharakh (in the northern region of Afghanistan). Afghan field commanders, members of the so-called Tajik "government in exile," and leaders of the armed groupings operating on GBAO territory took part in drafting the plan. The opposition's new military scheme is basically a detailed plan for overt armed aggression against sovereign Tajikistan, a "rehearsal" for which has already taken place at the 12th border post.

**Rendezvous in Dushanbe**

The immediate task facing the armed opposition is to tear away the GBAO and proclaim an "independent Islamic state" on its territory. Dovlat Usmon, one of the most active oppositionists, former vice premier of Tajikistan, and ideologue for the Islamic Revival Party, is presumably right now holding talks with the leaders of the Pamir groupings on final coordination of operations. It is clear that he will not stint on promises and generous assistance in terms of weapons and money.

According to data from the Tajik National Security Committee, almost three battalions of gunmen are ready to invade the Khorog area (the Ishkashim salient). According to the plan, the first battalion is to seize the bridges over the Pyandzh and ensure the movement and deployment of the other two battalions. The second battalion is to cut the road to Khorog, and the third is to block the highway and pass to Dushanbe. At the same time the gunmen from the Garm group of rayons will initiate active hostilities. Thus practically the whole of Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast will be cut off from the plains (almost one-third of the entire territory of Tajikistan).

The testimony of a gunman captured near Dushanbe gives a very clear idea of the opposition's future plans. He recounted that his group (about 30 men) came from the Garm rayons. Their task was to secretly approach the capital, equip weapons caches and, having made themselves inconspicuous, await a signal. At the appointed time and place they were to join up with a second, similar group, form a detachment, and attack the capital.

Who can say how many groups like this routed one are awaiting a signal and how many more are picking their way along mountain paths?

Nor can we fail to see the real danger from the south (from the direction of the Pyandzh). Here too there is a possibility that the gunmen will break through. The operational tactics are identical. Staffers from the Tajik National Security Committee recently uncovered a sizable cache of weapons and munitions that had been hidden on the territory of the Tigrovaya Balka nature reserve (south of Kurgan-Tyube).

**Stingers for "Afghan War II"?**

Analysis of the situation in Tajikistan convinces us that this is far from being the internal affair of just one republic. Could the opposition really train and arm such powerful groupings of gunmen on its own? Would it really have taken the lives of Russian border troops who were adhering to strict neutrality?

We have known about interference by Afghan mojahedin for some time now, however. The National Security Committee currently knows about 14 camps for training gunmen located in the northern provinces of Afghanistan. The largest are located in Konduz, Panjsher, and Talukan. The instructors who work here are not just Afghan mojahedin. It is known for a fact that experience of conducting hostilities is also taught by specialists from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Iran...

A torrent of weapons for the Islamic gunmen is arriving from these and some other countries. Moreover, these weapons are extremely up-to-date. Not so long ago one of the leaders of a Pamir grouping boasted to journalists that he even has Stingers, not to mention recoilless weapons, plastic explosives, and grenade launchers.

The danger of involving the countries of Middle and Central Asia in an internal conflict in Afghanistan risks having extremely unpredictable consequences. The most dangerous scenario is the substantial redrawing of the entire map of this region, even if this idea seems fantastic today.

Russia too, of course, which is giving Tajikistan major military support following the devastation of the 12th border post, is striving to protect its interests in this region. If only because almost 300,000 Russians are living in Tajikistan. Moreover, an open Tajik-Afghan border will immediately mean that militant Islamic fundamentalism will spread to neighboring Central Asian countries that directly border Russia itself. Tajikistan's closest neighbors, it seems, are beginning to understand this danger as well. At least recent events have prompted the leadership of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan to take more vigorous joint action.

## Russian Border Troops' Actions, Opinions Detailed

*AU0908132493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 5 Aug 93 p 5*

[Yuriy Kushko report from Dushanbe: "It is Not Simple To Find a Way Out"]

**[Text] We were some 300 or 400 meters away from the Afghan side of the bank and in several places, where the rapid Pyandzh River is squeezed between mountains, the distance is even shorter. Along a dusty and broken road, we, a group of journalists, were heading for one of the "hottest spots" on the Tajik-Afghan border—the 11th outpost. "How could it be true that there is war here?!" a doubt formed unwittingly when we looked at the majestic and quiet mountain tops scorched by the summer heat. However, the peaceful landscape turned out to be deceptive. The illusions on this subject were quickly dissipated when Colonel Savchenko, unexpectedly, sharply stopped the convoy and insisted that we switch from open trucks to armored personnel carriers. "According to a radio intercept, the other side is preparing shelling," was the warning that we heard.**

This outpost was built with a view to the eternal friendship between the Soviet and Afghan people. Perhaps, that is why there is something about it that resembles a neglected provincial house with outdoor buildings—one-storied, white-washed brick structures, fruit trees, and palisades. Trenches and dugouts appeared here relatively recently.

"We are a real nuisance for the Tajik militant opposition. They don't let us have a single peaceful day, especially after they destroyed the neighboring 12th outpost," said Senior Lieutenant Dzhamshed Pulodov. He also added that the border guards were not born yesterday either—they know how to repulse attacks. He himself did some shooting from a mortar literally minutes before we arrived.

"On whom did you fire?"

"On mojahedins, look, yonder they have ensconced themselves, on our territory." He pointed in the direction of a gorge directly adjacent to the outpost. "There are, approximately, 200 of them, almost the number of troops at the outpost."

According to the senior lieutenant, the adversary infiltrates to this rear front from Afghanistan. A river crossing functions, as before, several kilometers away from the outpost and, so far, there is nothing we can do to close it. On the very day of our arrival, the border guards beat them off on one of the heights of the gorge—Krasnaya Sopka [Red Knoll]. It was a fierce battle. In addition to everything else, six combat helicopters "worked" there.

"What are the prospects for those in the gorge?"

"None at all," said the border guard. "We will lay out all of them. Over the recent three months, 50 trespassers have been neutralized for good with our 'help.' Of course, we have also suffered losses—one killed and two wounded."

"We are fighting here for Russian interests," one of the border guards frankly said—what higher-ranking officers often fear to voice. "If we leave, the entire structure of Russian statehood will collapse like a house of cards. Fundamentalism will spread to Bashkortostan and Tatarstan.... It is, certainly, also dangerous for us to remain here: We may be drawn into an Afghan-style conflict. However, where is the way out?"

To my surprise, I met a fellow countryman at the outpost—Oleh Filimonchuk from Dnipropetrovsk. "It is already my third year here on a contract," he said. "During the last month alone, I took part in fire exchanges several times. By a miracle, I managed to emerge alive from an encirclement."

When asked what he would recommend to those boys in Ukraine who are, possibly, getting ready for going to Tajikistan, he answered: "To unpack their suitcases." However, Oleh himself will continue his service there for a while: a contract is a contract.

We returned along the same dusty road. We could not forget the sight of two little sisters aged four and seven cuddling to their father, Captain Oleg Polyakov. They live at the very border, a few steps away from tragedy. No other, more peaceful place could be found for their childhood.

P.S. When this issue of the newspaper was being made up into pages, it became known that the situation at the Tajik-Afghan border remained alarming. In the stationing area of the Pyandzh border guard unit, Russian border guards thwarted a breakthrough of an armed group from the territory of Afghanistan, and in the area of the fifth outpost of the Moscow border guard unit, the passage of armed trespassers was prevented. For one and one-half hours, armed formations on the Afghan territory fired on the Russian border guards without interruption. This was stated by O. Chechulin, commander of the border guard troops of the Russian Federation in Tajikistan.

## 'Cut Short' Attempts by Intruders

*LD1008092393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0808 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By KHOVAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, August 10 (TASS)—The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is fully controlled by Russian border guards. All the attempts of armed opposition gangs to cross over from Afghanistan into Tajikistan is being cut short most resolutely, the Tajik KHOVAR NEWS AGENCY was told at the headquarters of the Russian border guard troops in Tajikistan. Russian border guards prevented over the last day an attempt of 30 armed men to cross over from Afghanistan. The intruders suffered heavy losses during the clash.

Officers of the border guard headquarters informed the agency that a patrol had captured a smuggler on the Ishkashim stretch of the border, who was returning from Afghanistan with about one kilogram of drugs.

Meetings of representatives from the Russian border guard command with Afghan field commanders are being held regularly in order to effectively stabilise the situation, KHOVAR reports. In the meantime, border guard units are being reinforced by veteran servicemen and volunteers, arriving here on contract to discharge their duties on the Tajik-Afghan border.

## Armenia

### Yerevan Details Azerbaijani Cease-Fire Violations

*NC0908185093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Excerpt] Relative calm has been prevailing on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border since early this morning. Incidents were registered late last night when the enemy shelled Teg in Gorisskiy Rayon with Grad rockets. The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that the shelling caused no damage.

As we already reported, the Azerbaijani Army grossly violated the cease-fire agreement on 7 August and launched large-scale attacks against Gadrutskiy, Martuninskiy, and Agdamskiy Rayons. On the same day, Azerbaijani warplanes twice bombed Edillu, Melikashen, and Ktsaberd in Gadrutskiy Rayon, and Karmirshuka and Tagavard in Martuninskiy Rayon. This is a gross violation of UN Resolution 853. Peaceful citizens died during the air raids.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Defense Army subunits waged fierce battles throughout the day yesterday and managed to repulse the enemy from the positions it occupied in earlier attacks. The retreating Azerbaijanis did what they always do in such cases: Martuninskiy Rayon was subjected to fierce rocket and artillery shelling from the military bases in Fizulinskiy Rayon tonight. Three persons died and five were injured in Tagavard alone.

According to the latest information obtained from NKR Defense Army headquarters, the shelling resumed this morning.

In the opinion of the NKR leadership, UN Security Council Resolution 853, which unilaterally condemned the operations undertaken by the Karabakh forces, has been greeted in Azerbaijan as a call for intensifying the Azerbaijani Army's military operations, and the Azerbaijani side will be held responsible for the entire escalation of the oppressive operations no matter how much it covers up its aggressive operations with misinformation on alleged attack on Fizuli by Karabakh forces.

The Karabakh leadership holds the unequivocal position that the way out of the present situation is to hold direct and bilateral talks between the representatives of the Azerbaijani and NKR authorities.

Azerbaijan's intensification of military operations is also probably linked to the active policy pursued by Turkey. Turkish press reports confirm this. For example, HURRIYET reported on 25 July that a group of volunteers had arrived in Baku from Turkey to fight against the Armenians. The paper reported on 28 July that the leader of the Democratic Left Party Bulent Ecevit called for Turkish air strikes to open up a corridor between Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan. He said that a request from Azerbaijan's legitimate President Elchibey is enough to start such operations. [passage omitted]

### Car Accident Involving U.S. Diplomat Reported

*LD0908142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1408 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 9 TASS—U.S. Ambassador to Armenia Harry Gilmore visited the family of Marina Terzyan who was killed in a car accident last Sunday which also involved an American diplomat. Gilmore conveyed his condolences to Marina's family.

Terzyan worked as a secretary in the American University in Armenia and was riding in the car together with Frank Sparhawk, the first secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Armenia. The car collided with a tractor trailer in the Aragatsky District of Armenia. Marina died instantly, but her child who was with her in the car was not hurt.

The press attache of the U.S. Embassy in Armenia denied that Sparhawk was drunk. It turned out later that the diplomat suffered a minor brain concussion which affected his capacity for work. Sparhawk, 46, has been absent from work for a week. Terzyan was his friend, the press attache said.

## Azerbaijan

### Cabinet Orders New Currency Beginning 1 Sep

*LD1008103493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0654 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 10 Aug (TASS)—In accordance with an instruction from Azerbaijan's Cabinet of Ministers signed last night by Prime Minister Suret Guseynov, beginning 1 September all payments in the republic will be made solely in the national currency, the manat. The documents stresses that this action will make it possible to eliminate the additional complications in cash and non-cash transactions and the payment of wages. Until that time the Russian ruble will remain a parallel currency. The government of the republic has instructed the National Bank to accept rubles in order to carry out transactions with countries remaining in the ruble zone.

### Kamberov Launches Hunger Strike To Protest Arrest

*NC0908155693 Baku TURAN in English 1443 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, August 9 (TURAN)—Today former Chairman of Supreme Soviet [SS] of Azerbaijan went on hunger-strike at investigation office of Ministry of National Security, told his lawyer Adil Ismailov at yesterdays press-conference.

"Isa Kamberov arrest is illegal, because of violation of law", - said Adil Ismailov. To lawyer's words, July 16 parliament passed the resolution just on instituting criminal proceedings against Isa Kamberov, but not on his arrest. In this connection, July 31 Isa Kamberov addressed to the chairman of SS of Azerbaijan Geydar Aliyev with the demand to dismiss him and appoint independent procurator on this case. The answer has not given yet, Isa Kamberov went on termless hunger-strike till his demand would be carried out.

"I agreed to hold this press-conference because investigation office seriously violated the law and to all appearances these violations would be continued again and I would have like to inform publicity of real situation", - said Adil ismailov.

"I am sure, that Isa Kamberov is not guilty and this is the main reason of my agreement to be his defendant", noted the lawyer.

Isa Kamberov was arrested July 16 during the sitting of Milli Majlis, then for a whole day he had been in Sabail region department of internal affairs, two more days in the ward of Baku police, after that he had been sent to Ganja investigation office. July 29 after persistent demands of publicity Isa Kamberov had been returned to Baku and now he is in the investigation ward of Azerbaijan Ministry of National Security.

July 26 in Ganja he was accused, in line with Article 57-1 part two of criminal code of Azerbaijan Republic (for using of Armed Forces against the nation) and in line with Article 168 part two (for exceeding the duties, entailing to serious [words indistinct] investigation department Allakhverdiyev.

## Defense Sources Update Fighting Around Fizuli

*NC0908141593 Baku TURAN in English 1239 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, August 9 (TURAN)—The headquarters of the defense of the Fizulinskiy region reports that the fightings on the neighbouring approaches to the city of Fizuli have resumed.

Last night the Azeri Army managed to liberate the suburban villages of Karamamedli and Zargiar and to retake the height of Mengelenata in 3 km to Fizuli, where the Armenian artillery was shelling the city by direct laying from.

During the fighting the Armenian party had losses in 2 tanks put out of action and about 20 Armenian soldiers were killed. The Azeri Army also had looses.

This morning the Armenian artillery have resumed the shellings of the Azeri cities of Fizulinskiy and Dzhebrailskiy.

## Aliyev Meets With Oil Company Representatives 9 Aug

*LD0908141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1301 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman and AZERTAJ correspondent Alla Baula, for TASS]

[Text] Baku August 9 TASS—Azerbaijan stands for cooperation with foreign oil companies, giving priority to the national interests, Azerbaijani acting President Geydar Aliyev said.

Aliyev attended a meeting with representatives of leading oil companies seeking to develop the oil shelf in the Caspian Sea which was held in Baku on Monday. The meeting took place on the eve of the upcoming round of talks between Azerbaijan and foreign partners which were suspended on June 24 at the Azerbaijani Government's initiative.

Aliyev recalled that Azerbaijan made a breakthrough in oil production in the 1970s and 1980s. But at present the republic's oil industry is facing serious problems. They are a direct result of "unprofessional management in the industry in the last few years, which has led to numerous mistakes in developing joint projects with oil companies. This was the reason why the talks were temporarily suspended," Aliyev explained.

He stressed that Azerbaijan's priority is not an export of crude oil, but its processing and the development of related industries.

The presentation of renewed oil contracts will be held later today in the conference hall of the Azerbaijani State Oil Company with the participation of representatives of the government and foreign businesses.

## Promises To Keep Pipeline Agreement With Turkey

*TA0908162793 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1530 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, Aug 9 (AA)—A meeting between the Azeri Government and international oil companies on the exploitation and transportation of Azeri petroleum began here on Monday.

AA's correspondent in Baku reported that the meeting began with an address from Parliament Speaker Geydar Aliyev who is currently exercising the country's presidential powers.

The oil industry is represented at the meeting by officials from Turkey's BOTAS [Pipeline and Petroleum Transport Corporation] Turkish Petroleum Company TPAO, Azeri State Petroleum Company SOCAR and British Petroleum of Britain, Staatoil of Norway, and Amaco Pennzoil, Unocal, and Dermott of the U.S..

The meeting will deal with the exploitation and transportation of Azeri oil reserves in the Caspian Sea basin.

A prominent topic will be the pipeline to carry petroleum from Baku overland to Turkey's Yumurtalik oil terminal.

Aliyev said that the only Azeri objective was to utilize the petroleum in the best interests of the Azeri people.

Aliyev referred to an agreement made previously between Azerbaijan and an international oil consortium of which Turkish companies were a part during Ebulfaz Elchibey's time in power. The agreement was canceled by Azerbaijan after Elchibey was stripped of his powers by the Azeri Parliament.

Aliyev said the agreement bore many signatures from all parties but contained only one Azeri signature, namely that of the Azeri Oil Company's representative, Sabit Bagirov.

"Who gave this man such power? Why did our government officials and scientists not take part in this process?" he asked.

"Now we want a clear agreement which will involve all the officials concerned," he said.

He added that they had made a promise to Turkey that they will implement the agreement and will not change course.

Mete Goknel, general manager of BOTAS, told AA that no doubts existed on the pipeline crossing Turkey.

He said that the Turkish delegation prefered the pipeline to enter Turkey from Georgia so that it could put into operation more speedily.

### Joint Development of Caspian Oil Fields Proposed

*LD0908210793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1730 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman and AZERTAJ correspondent Alla Baula for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 9 Aug—The presentation of a project for joint development of three promising oil fields in the Caspian shelf, worked out by eight leading foreign companies, was presented here today. Foreign specialists believe that this is the optimal variant for Azerbaijan.

Western experts estimate that joint development will reduce the cost of oil extraction by 700 million U.S. dollars, and allow fulfillment of the program for utilization of casing-head gas, up to 10 billion cubic meters of which could be drilled a year. According to the estimates of foreign firms, Azerbaijan's proposed profit from offshore fields will be about 82 billion U.S. dollars, over 70 percent of the overall profit.

It was also underlined that during the implementation of the project, oil extraction in Azerbaijan will be doubled, and a strategically important pipeline will be laid for its export. In this way the republic will be able to establish itself as a regional center for transporting hydrocarbon raw material to the foreign market.

Foreign investors are ready to invest 10 billion U.S. dollars into implementation of this project. Its authors are counting on the understanding of Azerbaijani specialists, and of the republic's government.

The new president of Azerbaijan's state oil company, 46-year-old candidate of science in geology and mineralogy, Natik Aliyev, confirmed in his post before this presentation, shares some of the views of the western specialists. He said in his speech that joint development would be advantageous, underlining that the document presented will be carefully studied further by Azerbaijani specialists, who had also prepared their own project for development of offshore fields jointly with foreign firms.

### Aliyev Meets With Iranian Ambassador

*NC0908145293 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Akbar Nehavandian, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Baku met the acting president and speaker of the Republic of Azerbaijan yesterday. According to our correspondent in Baku, our ambassador explained the Islamic Republic of Iran's stance on Armenian aggression against the Republic of Azerbaijan. He stressed the need to preserve peace and stability in the region, and to safeguard Azerbaijan's territorial integrity.

During this meeting, the two sides called for the broadening of bilateral relations. The acting president of Azerbaijan has extended an invitation to our foreign minister to visit Azerbaijan.

### Iran's Velayati Postpones Visit

*NC0908150093 Baku TURAN in English 1239 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, August 9 (TURAN)—The visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran 'Ali Akbar Velayati to Baku planned for today was postponed. The head of the Information Department of the Azeri Foreign Ministry Rovshan Jamshidov told TURAN agency that the official Tehran haven't sent any information yet about the new term of the Iranian foreign political department head's arrival in Baku.

### International Satellite TV Complex Opens

*NC1008095893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1528 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[Text] Today, on August 3, there was held the opening of system of international satellite telecommunication complex, which became possible due to cooperation of republican Communication Ministry with American' "I.D.B." [as recieved] firm which allocated for this aim 1 mln 300 thousand dollars. This satellite communication

gives chance to connect America with 30 channels, 15 of which will serve population of republic the rest foreign missions and other organizations in Azerbaijan. Due to this communication Baku people may dial telephone number in America be code. Acting president of the Republic, chairman of the Supreme Soviet took part at the opening ceremony. He got acquainted thoroughly with the state of building telecommunication complex Ambassador of USA Richard Miles, Ambassador of Russia Valter Shoniya, Ambassador of UN Mahmud al-Sa'id, also attended here. Minister of Communication of Republic Firuz Abbasbeyli acquainted the quests with work of telecommunication system.

## Georgia

### Government Issues Statement on Death of U.S. Diplomat

*LD0908163493 Tbilisi IBERIAN NEWS AGENCY in Georgian 1430 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Aug—An IBERIAN correspondent reports that the government of the Republic of Georgia has issued a statement, that says:

The Government of the Republic of Georgia announces with deep regret the death of an officer at the Political Department of the U.S. embassy in Georgia, Mr. Fred Woodruff, that occurred as a result of a senseless and tragic incident (gunshot) near the village of Natakhtari [outside Tbilisi] on 8 August.

The tragic incident happened when Mr. Woodruff was returning to Tbilisi after a sightseeing tour of the village of Kazbegi and the Georgian Military Road [road linking Georgia with Russia].

During his working period in Georgia, Mr. Woodruff was serving the noble cause of closer relations between the two countries and their peoples.

The prosecutor general of the Republic of Georgia is directly involved in the investigation into this unfortunate incident.

The government of the Republic of Georgia is saddened by the tragedy, and offers its deep sympathies to the family and friends of the deceased and to the staff of the U.S. embassy.

### Team Set Up To Investigate Death

*LD0908144393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1418 GMT 9 Aug 93*

["American diplomat in Georgia killed by stray bullet—addition, including condolences from the U.S. Embassy"—ITAR-TASS headline; by GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Aug—A correspondent for the GEORGIAN INFORMATION AGENCY has been informed at the republic prosecutor general's department that a special operational investigation group has been set up to look into the incident [of U.S. diplomat Fred Woodruff's shooting]. The group contains the most skilled staff of the prosecutor's department, the Interior Ministry, and the republic's information and intelligence service.

Staff of the American embassy in Tbilisi and friends of Fred Woodruff are deeply mourning his senseless and tragic death, and they express condolences to his wife and children.

### Death Called 'Criminal Offense'

*PM0908141993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 93 First Edition p 1*

[Besik Urigashvili report: "U.S. Diplomat Killed in Georgia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] U.S. diplomat Fred Woodruff was killed Sunday [8 August] evening on the Georgian Military Highway about 10 km west of Tbilisi. The killing took place at 2130 hours, when a gang of armed people fired on Woodruff's car. In this connection Georgian General Prosecutor Vakhtang Gvaramiya declared that he rules out a terrorist act—this was clearly a purely criminal offense. So far neither the U.S. Embassy nor the Georgian Foreign Ministry has made official statements about the killing. The Georgian prosecutor's office is conducting an investigation.

### Shevardnadze Interviewed on Abkhazia, New Cabinet

*LD0908161593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian State Council chairman and acting prime minister, by Nato Oniani in Tbilisi on 9 August—recorded]

[Text] [Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, the past week was quiet in Abkhazia. Apart from the Sochi talks and the arrival of UN observers, an interesting trend has been observed: the seemingly parallel activities of the United States and Russia in connection with conflicts. I am referring to Christopher's visits, Shakhray's visits, and so on. Furthermore, information has appeared in the Western press, in THE WASHINGTON POST, for instance, that the Clinton administration has decided to intervene diplomatically in conflicts in which the former Soviet Republics are involved, that these conflicts will undermine Yeltsin, that this situation will aggravate religious or ethnic conflicts in (?Turkish areas) and South Asia, and that this could be followed by Russia's intervention in foreign countries. Do these considerations by the West force Russia to settle conflicts?

[Shevardnadze] Good morning. I believe that something that had to happen earlier is happening now. The world—including the U.S. Administration, the Russian leadership, to a certain extent, and other countries—have begun to realize that there can be no so-called

purely local conflicts. For today's planet, today's world, even an insignificant spark could become a large fire tomorrow, covering a region and then probably even a larger scale. I think that the diplomatic activity by the United States and some other countries is connected with this.

We are beginning to realize that before a conflict reaches a catastrophic scale, we better spend more time, more power, and more resources so that the reasons leading us to conflicts can be nipped in the bud. Later it will cost 10, 100, or 1,000 times more. I am talking about human casualties, economic and financial expenditures, and a lot more, as you are well aware.

I think there have been serious changes in Russian policy that can be observed through the events in Abkhazia. Although it is too early and hasty to speak about final results, certain conclusions are more or less being drawn from past mistakes and unaccomplished initiatives.

[Oniani] Thank you. Mr. Shevardnadze, this week, on 14 August, we will mark the first anniversary of the beginning of military actions in Abkhazia. We remember this day well, when Georgia was virtually dragged into the war. Apart from the casualties, destruction, and misfortune this war has brought us, what did this war do for Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] The first major task is to end the war in a way that meets the interests of our country and our peoples. In my opinion, the principal conclusion should be this: Georgia is an integral state in terms of territory, and any forces, whether from the outside or internal separatist forces in whatever region, should come to the conclusion that all problems within the borders of a united and integral Georgian state, including all those with which ethnic minorities are concerned and which are justly put forward, can be solved.

This is a general statement. The principal thing we have to infer is that no problem can be solved by war and bloodshed, not in Georgia nor in other countries. It is a different century, a different time, and every leader in the country, or those who share separatist ideas in this or that region or have separatist aims, should be guided by this very conclusion, but on the whole, as I have said, the principal task is to end the war, a complete cease-fire and a permanent—or rather eternal—truce and peace on the Georgian land, especially in Abkhazia.

[Oniani] An important event took place last week: At the session of parliament the cabinet of ministers—or rather, the prime minister—announced the resignation of the whole cabinet. About nine months ago, when this cabinet was being established, we knew that in the first instance the interests of political forces were being taken into consideration, and it was understandable in that situation. Today we seem to have a different situation. What principle will the head of state observe when forming a new cabinet and how will he consider the present realities in Georgian politics?

[Shevardnadze] First, I have to say that this government—which has resigned and which was formed eight or nine months ago—has in a way accomplished its mission. It was the most complex and hardest stage in our life and the cabinet has managed to face its tasks well or badly, but more or less successfully. However, when the country met a new crisis, primarily an economic and financial crisis, the authorities, especially the cabinet of ministers, failed to find the appropriate resolutions.

That is why this unpleasant action became necessary. If we can say anything positive, it is the fact that a whole group of interesting figures emerged. They may either remain in their positions or work in other posts but society and the state found many figures who had been more or less in the shade before. They will carry out useful work in future, too.

Now, about a new cabinet. I am facing the most complicated and most difficult problem. I am not sure how I will manage to accomplish the task entrusted to me by the parliament, how perfect and full-blooded the team will be, how professionally prepared and politically mature to solve all problems they will be. In any case, we have to try.

The main criterion, along with the consideration of the necessity and advisability of representing a certain political spectrum, must be professionalism. A party mandate alone can by no means do a good job. I think that whenever we need to place national and state interests in the foreground, this must be in the first instance be done when we speak about forming a government, because it implies highest professionalism and professional training.

[Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, another issue was pointed out at the parliament sitting, regarding a structural change of the cabinet of ministers as being not less important than replacement of individuals—although it is a little bit ambiguous: how can a structure be established if individuals are not replaced? A new structure is formed by new people.

[Shevardnadze] Something usually comes into fashion and then we believe that if it is like that, if we have a better structure, everything will be fine. It is not like that. It is not, pardon me, so primitive.

Even wealthy countries face a problem of the perfection of the structure, but do not imagine that we had 27 ministries and now we will have 15. Since we will have 15, all will go ahead in a magnificent way. This does not happen in life. However, I share an opinion that 27 ministries is probably too many, but how can we regroup them? How can we unite them? This processes need time. It is a sort of reorganization. Different staff should match one another, get used to one another. This is not a very easy job. Please, do not think that Shevardnadze will suggest us a new structure, new people will be appointed there and we will enjoy kerosene, gas, bread, and everything, as well as order tomorrow. Unfortunately, this is not what actually happens. The main task

is to have professionals, good organizers, experts, honest and just people. As for the number of ministries, I will try to propose the most acceptable version.

When speaking about structures, people speak about the functions of the ministries. Some say a cabinet system is good, some other systems are also mentioned. There are plenty of systems. On my desk I have an American system, systems from France, England, Switzerland, Israel, and others. When I read these things I become jealous. They have an opportunity to sit quietly and do this but we have a fire, as it can be said. The whole country is on fire and decisions should be taken quickly and we must not confront each other so stubbornly. Even if we will have to keep some of the members of the cabinet. When I am confident, I will present it to the parliament. The parliament should support my proposal. If the parliament does not support me, it should take responsibility, as should society.

This is a general idea about the structure.

[Oniani] You made a significant statement at the parliament sitting. You said that you possessed information on who had already started a power struggle and what forces are behind the destructive forces.

[Shevardnadze] This is a very complex issue and I do not think we will be able to discuss it in details today.

We all can see what destructive forces are operating in society. I believe that the situation in Georgia should urge everyone to set aside his ambitions, all political parties and political forces, whether opposition or not. Everyone should realize that there is a chance to save the country, to save the people, to save the state, and this opportunity cannot be missed. I am talking about a chance, not guarantees. We have no guarantees so far. As for destructive forces, there are more of these than one small country can cope with. I do not mean only political forces; I mean criminal elements, mafia groups, and forces that almost compete with the state. They do not give the people an opportunity to calm down, to quiet down and work properly.

The major task today, as we speak about forming a new cabinet and beginning a new stage in our life and work, is to establish order in the country. This must be a concern to all of us, whatever happens. Democratic achievements will probably be limited temporarily to save democracy, the sense of democracy.

I do not know, I have not checked it, but I have just been told that last night a foreign diplomat was apparently killed. I have to tell you that I am shocked. A human being is a human being whether he is a foreigner or a local. There are killings every day and not one or two cases, unfortunately. But if it is so, if it is confirmed, I must say that something of real emergency and an extraordinary something is required in Georgia if we do not want to lose everything that has been done and everything we aspire for.

[Oniani] How comprehensible and acceptable is the idea of democracy in Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] The point is that it takes people years and even dozens of years to comprehend the idea of real democracy. Building a democratic society is not a one-time task.

It takes dozens of years to build a democratic state and establish a democratic society. The election of a parliament or even of the head of state, or the chairman of the parliament and even of the president does not mean that this is a democratic state. We have just started on the road leading to democratic statehood. This road will be complicated and very difficult, full of obstacles. There will also be zigzags. There might as well be some deviations, certain deviations, for instance, strengthening of the power in order to save the main thing, the most important achievement.

I remember very well, although it might seem ludicrous now, what we talked about in those days, in the past. When I worked here in the past [as a Georgian Communist Party leader] once I noticed just a pile of rubbish in the suburbs of Tbilisi, I would summon the people responsible and tell them: As from tomorrow you are not at your job any longer, and we used to expel people from the party. I also remember that I used to fly in a helicopter over Tbilisi and around it and if I noticed a pile of inert materials, the officials responsible would get a strong reprimand the following day, not only from me, but in the city. We used to work like this. Or if the potato delivery to town was delayed, many people could lose their jobs. This was the way we worked at that time.

I do not know whether it is good or bad. In that totalitarian regime it all probably seemed wrong. I would like to tell you that today, a democratic state should be able to do all this in another way, leaning on different principles.

At the present stage, our level of development is not high enough to tackle everything by kind appeals and wishes. Now, in a certain sense, compulsion is also necessary. I mean that democracy, real and true national democracy, must compel antidemocratic forces to take into account the interests of society and the state.

[Oniani] Yesterday you met with representatives of (Sokhund and Joint) to discuss relations between Georgia and Israel. We realize that a lot of things should be considered from the experience Israel has had in the economy and other spheres. What do you think Georgia should learn first of all from Israel, as a country which has built state in such a short time?

[Shevardnadze] Incidentally, most of them were U.S. citizens, quite prominent public figures, and there were some representatives of organizations from Israel as well.

From Israel, as well as from other states, we should primarily learn about and become conscious of properly

understanding true national interests in contrast to false national interests. To achieve what it has achieved, this country—like others, for instance Arab countries, which I know quite well—fought for national unity and integrity. They managed to overcome all internal contradictions, splits, and internal confrontation, although many of these countries were based on multiparty systems.

Parties unite. I watch countries which are in rather complex situations and see that confrontation can be seen for several months before elections and then, when they are finished, the country unites and lives with one aim. We are far from this. I sometimes envy them.

We are bothered and eaten up by trifles, by tiny things which can serve the interests of one person or one party. Thus, a large national idea is sacrificed to this trifle or to the interests of even one region. When we all realize and overcome this, we will be able to reach the heights our country deserves.

### Sigua Says Government 'Absolutely Correct' To Resign

*LD0908200293 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A good tendency is beginning to set in in our social mentality. More often, we say thank you to people who deserve it, regardless of whether they have left office or not. Here is a report about one such fact.

[Correspondent] The head of state and parliament will form a new Cabinet of Ministers shortly. Every member of the old cabinet has theoretical chances to make one of the new cabinet. However, there is no doubt that Tengiz Sigua, who personally read out the letter of cabinet resignation, will not be prime minister. [passage omitted]

[Begin Sigua recording] The Cabinet of Ministers' was unanimous in its decision to resign. I am sure that the decision was absolutely correct, because at a most difficult time like this, a prolongation of the existing confrontation between the legislative and executive branches of power would have brought nothing good to our native land. That is why we decided that resignation was the only move that would ease this tension and confrontation.

I would like to convey to you my sincere gratitude for our cooperation over this time. Of course, there have been mistakes that need to be analyzed. All of us will probably analyze mistakes that were made over this period. However, I believe that the cabinet has fulfilled its duties. Once again, I would like to thank you for this cooperation. [end recording] [passage omitted]

### North Ossetian Volunteers Leave Abkhazia

*LD0908125693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] A detachment of volunteers from North Ossetia has already left Abkhazia, following on from volunteers from South Ossetia. This was reported by (Amin Zekhov), chief of staff of the Confederation of the Peoples of the Caucasus in Abkhazia. However, according to him, there is no set timetable for the withdrawal of volunteers from Abkhazia. Zekhov also emphasized that those quitting Abkhazia were leaving behind their weapons, regardless of whether they brought them with them or received them on the spot.

### Ardzinba Appeals to Yeltsin, Butrus-Ghali Over Cease-Fire

*LD0908190793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1734 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug—Vladislav Ardzinba, Abkhaz Supreme Soviet chairman, has appealed to the Russian Federation president and to the UN secretary general, who are acting as guarantors of compliance with the cease-fire agreement, urgently requesting them "to influence the Georgian side which is not fulfilling the obligations undertaken, thus calling into question the very possibility of a peaceful settlement in Abkhazia." His appeal was circulated today by the press service of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia.

According to Vladislav Ardzinba, "the Georgian side has broken the timetable for the pullback of troops and withdrawal of heavy equipment endorsed by the joint commission, in accordance with Article Six of the agreement, and which should have been completed on 9 August. Not one single gun, nor one single armored vehicle has been withdrawn on the eastern front. On the Gumista front a large proportion of artillery pieces and armored vehicles remains at the front line. At the same time, some armored vehicles and artillery are being concealed for possible subsequent use."

"The Georgian side's failure to comply with the measures to pullback troops has frustrated the timely introduction of peacemaking forces," the document notes. Its actions "are creating all the preconditions for the complete wrecking of the agreement," Vladislav Ardzinba believes.

### Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Reports Georgian Shelling

*LD1008110593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1018 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Aug—The cease-fire agreement has been violated repeatedly over the past 24 hours on the line of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict. Georgian troops in the Shroma area fired on Abkhaz positions several times

late on Monday evening using grenade launchers and machine guns. According to a report from the press service of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, the fire was not returned.

According to the same information, in the populated area of Labra last night Abkhaz positions were shelled by tank guns. Occasional exchanges of fire are continuing in other areas.

## Official Outlines Harvest, Farming Problems

*AU1008061393 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 27 Jul 93 p 3*

[Interview with Zurab Tskitishvili, chief of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Processing Administration for the Development of Farming, by Konstantin Tsagareishvili; place and date not given: "The Harvest Is in the Field But That Does Not Mean We Will Have Bread on the Table"]

[Text] [Tsagareishvili] It is now harvest time. However, we would like to begin our conversation with the spring sowing. What, in your view, Batoni Zurab, were the positive and negative moments of this campaign?

[Tskitishvili] This year, spring crops covered 386,000 hectares. This operational data comes from all categories of farms. There were 80,000 hectares that remained unsowed. However, after more accurate information has been obtained, one can suppose that this figure will turn out to be less. As a positive moment, one can point out the considerable increase in sown grain corn areas. They covered 155,000 hectares compared with 107,000 in 1990. There is a very simple explanation for this phenomenon: Corn can be processed manually. At the same time—and this is among the alarming and unpleasant factors—winter-crop (wheat and barley) plots are diminishing.

One of the reasons is that peasants, having received additional household plots of land, are avoiding cereals and concentrating on other crops. After all, the production of cereals requires the use of mechanization, which is difficult to do, given that they have a small field. There are cases when peasants are combining their efforts in order to sow 20-50 hectares of wheat but, at the moment, these are isolated facts. In particular, as farmers are now constantly facing such insoluble problems as the permanent fuel shortage and the insufficient delivery of machinery and spare parts.

I would like to say that, in the republic's communal farms, the areas turned over for vegetables, potatoes, sugar beet, and so forth have turned out to be significantly less than was supposed. The reason lies in the fact that, as early as last year, the producers of agricultural goods were unable to gather in and sell the harvest due to the shortage of fuels and lubricants and incurred heavy losses. This year, they have decided to act more cautiously.

[Tsagareishvili] How do things stand regarding this year's harvest?

[Tskitishvili] The same situation is repeating itself. In a number of rayons, for example, they have not been able to begin the harvesting of barley on time due to the acute shortage of fuel. The grain has begun to shatter. In certain regions, winter wheat is in a similar situation. As a result, losses suffered on account of the hail have been compounded by grain losses due to the delay in harvesting. Of the 60,000 tonnes of grain that we have already lost, 8,000-10,000 tonnes has to be put down to the delay in harvesting grain crops up to now.

Diesel fuel has begun to be delivered to the rayons and there is now fuel for the harvesting. However, the situation is bad regarding gasoline. After all, 80 percent of the agricultural vehicle fleet runs on it. Meanwhile, the harvest does not only have to be gathered in but also transported to the places where it is to be sold, stored, processed.... This concerns both grains and vegetables and potatoes.... If we do not organize the transporting of the harvest, we will again incur big losses. It is not surprising that a part of the harvest is being bought by dealers from outside the republic. Moreover, this concerns not only vegetables and potatoes but also grain.

[Tsagereishvili] At a recent meeting devoted to problems connected with the harvest, Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze said that the purchase prices of grain had not been determined and that a mechanism for making settlements between purchasers and producers of goods had not been fully worked out.

[Tskitishvili] I personally think that we should transfer to a contract system of interrelations with the producers of agricultural goods under which contracts for their purchase will be concluded in advance, preferably at the beginning of spring. This will exclude a situation of uncertainty in relations with them. Furthermore, such a contract system will help to stimulate peasants into producing goods that are necessary to the republic and will be a guarantee that their labor will not have been in vain and that the harvest will be sold. Naturally, the main complication lies in the unpredictably fast rates of inflation. No one today can predict how much prices for everything will rise in one year's time. However, it seems to me that this problem can be solved if, for example, the prices for agricultural goods are determined in U.S. dollars or in another hard currency. The final settlement with the peasants will be made in coupons in strict correspondence with the exchange rate for that currency on which the contract was based.

[Tsagareishvili] Do you think that, in this case, peasants can be stimulated into producing grain, for example?

[Tskitishvili] In conjunction with a number of other factors, undoubtedly.

[Tsagareishvili] There is the view that Georgia is capable of producing grain in such quantities that will enable it to satisfy domestic demand.

[Tskitishvili] This is unrealistic. Nevertheless, it is possible and necessary to increase its output. Everything depends on whether we will be able to correctly orient the peasants who, by next year, will own 60 percent of arable land. The peasants must be stimulated into producing grains and provided with the appropriate technical equipment.

[Tsagereishvili] According to the forecast, how much grain will be procured in the republic this year?

[Tskitishvili] About 83,000 tonnes. This is approximately the monthly norm for the consumption of grain in the republic.

## Estonia

### Russian Assembly Statement Expresses 'Concern' Over Talks

*WS0908124993 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0724 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[From 7,9 August RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Monday, August 9—The Russian Representative Assembly made a statement expressing their concern over the round table talks and warned against turning it into a "discussion club". "Unless the status of the round table among Estonian political organisations is not determined in the near future, we reserve ourselves the right to question out further participation in it work," the statement read.

The statement was caused by the sudden postponement of the third session by the presidential Chancellery. According to the assembly members, they were not informed of the change. "The behaviour of the presidential Chancellery demonstrates lack of respects towards the round table members and raises doubts in the efficiency of the body," the statement read.

The Sillamae town council appealed to President Meri and the Riigikogu to form a representation of the round table at Sillamae. The town council recommended that the Riigikogu session discussed the propositions of the town council made in July.

The Sillamae town council asked the Riigikogu to grant the town special status, to extend the registration period of non-citizen voters and to allow aliens of over 10 years of residence to stand for office at the elections.

### Talks With Russian Minority To Be Held 12 Aug

*WS1008110193 Tallinn BNS in English 1808 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Aug 09, BNS—Government and minority representatives scheduled their next round of round-table talks in Tallinn Aug. 12.

The president's office countered claims by the Representative Assembly of Estonia's Russian-speaking residents that the third talks' session was "postponed unexpectedly."

"At the first session a decision was made that the date and the place of the next round will be announced by the president's office according to the proposals made at the previous meeting," said the office. "The second round, which was held July 23, left the time of the next round open."

The office consulted with the chairperson of the talks' third round, Ants-Enno Lohmus, and decided to hold the talks Thursday [August 12].

### Russia Imposes Narva-Ivangorod Traffic Restrictions

*LD1008104193 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 10 Aug 93*

[Text] Russia is restricting vehicular traffic through Ivangorod border post. As reported by the BNS the restrictions will come into effect beginning tomorrow and are due to end on 30 September. Restrictions are related to the building of a new border post in Ivangorod. Beginning tomorrow only scheduled buses and taxis traveling between Narva and Ivangorod will be allowed an unrestricted passage through the Russian customs post at Ivangorod. Restrictions will apply to all vehicles in transit. For this reason the Russian side wishes Estonian trucks, private cars, and tourist buses to be routed to Russia through Luhamaa-Pechory customs and border posts.

### Premier Laar Meets German Foreign Minister Kinkel

*LD0908140493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Mart Laar today met German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Kinkel is in Estonia on a private visit. [passage omitted]

During their meeting the two discussed the situation in Russia, the Russian troop withdrawal from Estonia, and European integration. The German foreign minister stated that Estonia is proceeding in the right direction and has buil[illegible] a solid foundation through its reforms.

### Kinkel: Relations 'Problem-Free'

*LD0908140393 Berlin ADN in German 1334 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Excerpt] Tallinn (ADN)—According to Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, Germany will support Estonia in further strengthening its ties with Europe. This applies in particular to the Baltic Republic's associate membership in the EC, Kinkel confirmed in Tallinn today following unofficial talks with the Estonian leadership. Beforehand the minister met with President Lennart Meri, Prime Minister Mart Laar, and [Foreign Minister] Trivimi Velliste in the Estonian capital for informal talks. Kinkel described relations between Estonia and Germany as very good. They are absolutely problem-free, he said. [passage omitted]

### Meri, Latvia's Ulmanis Meet To Discuss Cooperation

*WS0908124493 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0724 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[From 9 August RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Monday, August 9— Estonian and Latvian Presidents Lennart Meri and Guntis Ulmanis met at Valgeranna on Saturday [7 August]. Latvian Minister of State Gunars Meierovitsch was present at the meeting.

The presidents discussed the development of cooperation between the two states in foreign and defence policy as well as economic strategy. President Meri's suggestion of the development of the Baltic states' energetic infrastructure was welcomed by his Latvian counterpart. The discussion also concerned the withdrawal of the Russian troops and possible solutions to the migration process.

The presidents stressed the importance of improved cooperation with the Council of the Baltic Sea Countries member states and other international organisations. An integration between the three Baltic states and unification of their legislation is needed, they agreed.

A summit meeting of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian presidents is to take place in the near future.

## Coalition Party Chairman Vahi on Baltic Unity

*WS1008105193 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1844 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Tallinn, August 9—Estonia's society is in a much deeper crisis at the moment than the Government has ever admitted, chairman of the Coalition Party board and the current prime minister's predecessor, Tiit Vahi, told to a news conference on Monday [9 August].

Vahi also condemned the Government's policy of moving away from other Baltic States—Latvia and Lithuania. "The politicians in the government think that now that Estonia is a little more successful (economically) than the other Baltic States, they can drop Baltic unity," Vahi said. "Estonia has lost the support of the Western world."

The Government's main aim should be completion of economic reforms as fast as possible and supporting small and medium-size enterprises, Vahi said. "Instead, the Government tears the society apart as one scandal follows another."

Vahi described as amazing the behaviour of the former Defence Minister Hain Rebas, who recently resigned over the incident of the separatist light infantry company, as after leaving his office he openly disgraced the Republic of Estonia and its Government. "How many more unfaithful ministers are there in the Government?" Vahi asked.

The Coalition Party put the blame for the Pullapaa (the rebel company's main base in west Estonia) incident on the Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste, who fulfilled the duties of the Prime Minister during Mart Laar's leave. Endel Lippmaa, member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, said the crisis highlighted the lack of organisation in the Defence Ministry and the Defence Forces Headquarters.

## Military Electronics Plant To Be Divided

*WS0908123193 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 1713 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] August 2-8, 1993—The former military electronics plant Baltijets will be divided into two in the near future, as the Economics Ministry and the leadership of the Baltijets try to help the plant located in Narva overcome the crisis.

Meanwhile Baltijets continues its functioning. Part of the plant will be sold, the more efficient departments remain under the control of state-owned joint-stock company Baltijets. The crisis program was drafted by the Baltijets' leaders appointed in May and Economics Ministry, but as the plant is included into the privatization list, the government has to approve the program.

Officials say that probably the plant's "halving" will not cause changes in the administrative structures, but evidently some jobs will be lost.

Baltijets faced crisis because of small market for its products and the machinery and buildings left unused.

The plant's debts will be covered by the funds paid in from the sale of the assets. The sales will be carried out step by step in the near future.

## Gulf Reportedly Widening Between Rich, Poor

*WS1008104993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1844 GMT 9 Aug 93*

["Gulf Between Haves and Have-Nots Widening in Estonia"—ETA NEWS RELEASE headline]

[Text] Tallinn, August 9—The difference in the population's incomes has seen a sharp incline in favour of the uppermost ten per cent of the social pyramid, a press release by the Estonian Institute of Social-Economic Analysis states.

The top ten now possess more than third of the nation's profits. The statement admits that Estonia's economy has been more stable over recent months as a result of the financial policy that has been chosen, but it predicts the stability short life.

The institute's research shows that an average family's expenditure on food is 40 per cent of its income - the figure corresponding to that of the tropical Africa and some Asian countries.

The institute sees a serious sign of warning in the sudden evaporation of the last year's gain in the foreign trade surplus.

The statement notes that the minimum wages has become a millstone round the neck of the economy, enabling to prolong the death throes of uncompetitive firms at the expense of their employees.

## Lithuania

### 'Mystery' Surrounds Defense Minister's Trip to London

*LD0908172593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Report by Gene Abraitene]

[Text] The visit of the national defense minister [to London] has been surrounded by a curious mystery since this morning. We received a note from ELTA saying that a report on Mr. Butkevicius' visit to London would be submitted to us by the above agency. Of course, we all became rather curious as to why he was going there, because it seems that there has been no mention about the visit.

Meanwhile, we did not receive any details or any report about the visit. We were only told that the minister would explain everything after he returns.

Now ELTA has fulfilled its promise and has submitted a report about the visit to London by the national defense minister. It reads: National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius has left for London on an unofficial visit today.

The Protocol Department of the ministry reported that Audrius Butkevicius had been invited by the government of Great Britain and the Defense Ministry of Great Britain.

However, according to National Defense Ministry officials, the objective of the visit should not be made public. The officials at the ministry maintained that Audrius Butkevicius would report to them and the public about the aim and the results of the visit after he returns from London on 11 August.

Senior officials at the Financial Department of the National Defense Ministry told the ELTA correspondent that the expenses of the trip to London by Audrius Butkevicius would be paid by the host country.

### Russians Invited Back to Negotiating Table

*LD0908181993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] President of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas cut his vacation short and resumed his duties today. A session to discuss the talks with Russia was held at the president's office this morning. The session was attended by: Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas, Foreign Affairs Minister Povilas Gylys, Justas Paleckis, president's adviser on foreign policy matters, and Virgilijus Bulovas, chief negotiator in the talks with Russia.

This afternoon the president discussed the above issue with the members of the state negotiation delegation for the negotiations with Russia and Foreign Affairs Minister Povilas Gylys.

There is no approximation in the relations with Russia; however, the possibilities for such approximation have not yet been exhausted, Justas Paleckis, the president's adviser on foreign policy matters said, commenting on the progress of the negotiations.

While understanding Russia's interest in signing the agreement on the pullout of the troops, Lithuania is aspiring to reach constructive solutions. Possible solutions of some problems that have arisen have been discussed with the president, Justas Paleckis said.

Virgilijus Bulovas, chief negotiator in the talks with Russia, told ELTA that already today he is to send an invitation to the Russian state negotiation delegation to come to Vilnius. By the way, the invitation will imply as to what and how it could be negotiated, the chief negotiator said.

According to Virgilijus Bulovas, the president will go to Moscow only on condition if the negotiation delegation manages to achieve something concrete.

### Landsbergis Views Foreign Policy Toward Russia

*LD0908170693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1320 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Here is Vytas Usas reporting from the Seimas radio studio about a news conference by Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Seimas opposition.

[Usas] The state has not yet been destroyed but Lithuanian foreign policy has, Vytautas Landsbergis said at the news conference held today.

According to him, the process of negotiations with Russia is not unified: Foreign Affairs Minister Povilas Gylys is damaging the Lithuanian position while Virgilijus Bulavas, chief negotiator with Russia, is repairing it.

Comparing the current situation with that of last autumn, one can see the danger of loosing former gains, Vytautas Landsbergis said. After Lithuania had changed its eastern policy, Russia is making efforts to take over the initiative. Reports that Lithuania is making new proposals is being disseminated through Russia's powerful propaganda apparatus.

Meanwhile, eight documents were coordinated in September of last year and although not all of them had been signed, the very fact was favorable to Lithuania.

Of late, Russia is trying to thrust a package of some questions on Lithuania. They propose that together with the political agreement, some other agreements should be discussed in order to put them into one package. The issue of the troops withdrawal and the issue of reparation should not be discussed together with the agreements on

trade, the issues concerning mutual settlements, and other problems, Vytautas Landsbergis said.

It seems that the Russian troops will be pulled out without any additional agreements, and while rejecting the chaotic style of negotiations forced on us by Russia, we would help Estonia and Latvia. Everybody will understand that foreign troops can be pulled out without any political agreements. The issue concerning the reparation to Lithuania could be discussed later. Of course, it would be ideal if our diplomats could manage to get this issue recorded in the text of the political agreement, Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Seimas opposition Tevynes Santara, said at the news conference which was held today.

Perhaps for the first time this year he paid a compliment to the independent press which, and I quote: At this important moment has carried out its duty and prevented the government from making gross mistakes, end of quotation.